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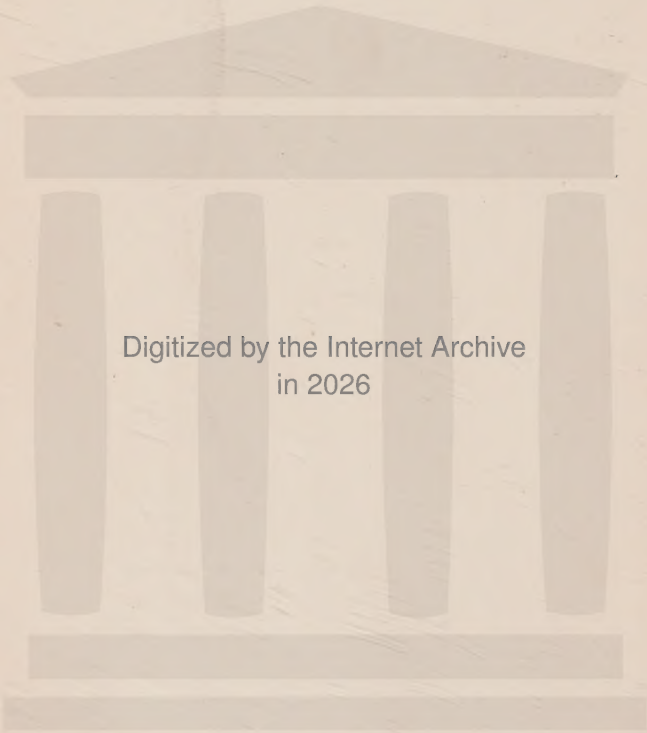
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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor:

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MEMORIALS OF OLD SURREY

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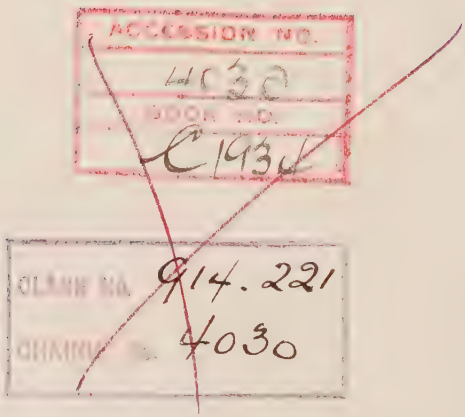

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THESE PAGES ARE DEDICATED
TO MY COUSIN
RUPERT DARNLEY ANDERSON,
J.P., D.L.,
THE OWNER AND FAITHFUL CUSTODIAN
OF WAVERLEY ABBEY,
THE FIRST ENGLISH HOME
OF THE WHITE MONKS.

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH Surrey is one of the smaller counties, it can justly lay claim not only to an infinite variety of attractive scenery, but also to a great diversity of antiquarian remains and historical associations.

Having long been closely connected with many parts of this beautiful and exuberantly wooded district of England, I readily fell in with the suggestion of my friend, Mr. Ditchfield, that I should edit the Surrey volume of his series of "Old Memorials"; for there is no county that I more keenly appreciate than Surrey, with the single exception of my native Derbyshire.

In preparing these pages, good fortune awaited me in having the hearty co-operation of several writers who are one and all thoroughly conversant with the county's several leading features, and most competent to expound them to others. It is hoped that our joint efforts will supply lovers of Surrey with much trustworthy information, not a little of which is now for the first time published.

A more than usual number of the place-names of Surrey admit of a diversity of orthography, such, for instance, as Pirford or Pyrford, Cranley or Cranleigh. Perhaps I ought to have exercised editorial rights in securing absolute uniformity, but as each writer knows the county well, it was thought better to allow a certain license.

By far the greater part of the illustrations have been specially provided for this volume. The articles of Mr. Johnston and Mr. Tavenor-Perry are much increased in value by the drawings of the authors, and that of Mr.

Vallance by the contributions of his camera. Our best acknowledgments are, however, due to the Society of Antiquaries, the Surrey Archæological Society, Sir John Watney, F.S.A., the Rev. F. C. Hill, Messrs. Methuen, Messrs. Cassell, Mr. B. T. Batsford, Mr. G. C. Druce, Mr. W. Bruce Bannerman, and Mr. Rupert D. Anderson, for varied forms of assistance in the work of illustration.

J. C. C.

LONGTON AVENUE, SYDENHAM,
February 1911.

CONTENTS

		Page
Historic Surrey	By H. E. Malden, M.A.	1
Surrey before the Norman Conquest	By George Clinch, F.S.A. Scot., F.G.S.	18
The Forests of Surrey	By the Editor	32
Memorial Brasses in the County of Surrey	By F. R. Fairbank, M.D., F.S.A.	52
Roods, Screens, and Lofts in Surrey	By Aymer Vallance, M.A., F.S.A.	82
The Royal Residences of Surrey	By J. Tavenor-Perry	129
The Fortunes of Lambeth Palace	By S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A.	148
The Wall-Paintings in Surrey Churches	By Philip Mainwaring Johnston, F.S.A.	168
The Abbey of Bermondsey	By F. R. Fairbank, M.D., F.S.A.	222
The Religious Houses of Surrey: The Abbeys of Chertsey and Waverley	By the Editor	239
The Post-Reformation Foundations in Surrey	By H. E. Malden, M.A.	253
The Story of the Hindhead Gibbet	By the Editor	267
Fanny Burney and Surrey	By S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A.	279

Index 293

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

Chipstead Church: Rood-Screen . . . . . *Frontispiece*
(*From a photograph by Aymer Vallance*)

FACING PAGE

Shell Keep, Farnham Castle 10

Tilford Oak 48
(*From a photograph by Frith & Co., Ltd.*)

Crowhurst Yew 50
(*From a photograph by G. Clinch*)

The Abbot Brass, Holy Trinity, Guildford 56
(*Lent by Surrey Archæological Society*)

Oakwood Brass 60

Brass of Bishop Bowthe 62

Brass of Sir John d'Abernoun 64

Brass of Canon Teylar 68

The Selwyn Brass 70
(*From rubbings by Dr. Fairbank*)

The Arderne Brass 76
(*Lent by Sir John Watney, F.S.A.*)

Compton Church: Part of Timber Arcade in the Church . . 82
(*From a photograph by Aymer Vallance*)

Charlwood Church: Details from the Screen Cresting . . 88
(*Drawn by James West; the originals the property of B. T. Batsford*)

Chelsham Church: Portion of Chancel Screen 90
(*From a photograph by G. C. Druce*)

Cobham Church: Parclose on North Side of Chancel . . 94
(*Drawn in 1825 by William Twopeny; the original in the British Museum*)

FACING PAGE

Lingfield Church: Parclose of North Chapel 106
(From a photograph by Aymer Vallance)

Shere Church: Rood-Screen, *c.* 1845 116
(From a drawing in the possession of Rev. F. C. Hill, Rector)

Tatsfield Church: Rood-Screen, *c.* 1845 120
(From a drawing by Edward Streatfield; reproduced by permission of W. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A.)

Wotton Church: Parclose of the North Chapel 126
(From an engraving after T. Coney, dated 1818)

The Library, Lambeth Palace 158
(From W. Rye's "Libraries of London"; by permission of the University of London)

Albury: St. Christopher 170
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Byfleet: Figure of a King 172
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Chaldon: "The Ladder of Salvation" 176
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Charlwood: Legend of St. Margaret 184
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Charlwood: The Three Living and the Three Dead . . . 186
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

St. Mary's, Guildford: Chapel of St. John 192
(From a photograph by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

St. Mary's, Guildford: Paintings on Vaultings 198
(From a photograph by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Stoke d'Abernon: East Wall 218
(Drawn by P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.)

Remains of Bermondsey Abbey 238
(From Manning and Bray's "History of Surrey," vol. i., 1804)

The Chapter House, Waverley Abbey 248
(From a photograph lent by R. D. Anderson)

Abbot's Hospital, Guildford 256

FACING PAGE

Dulwich College 258
(From a print by F. Oliphant, c. 1775)

Winsor's Almshouses, Farnham 262

The Grammar School, Guildford 264

The Hindhead Gibbet 276
(From oil painting at the Royal Huts Inn)

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Bronze Buckle, found at Mitcham (Two Figures) . . . 28
(Reproduced by permission from the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries")

Saucer Brooch, found at Mitcham 29
(Reproduced by permission from the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries")

Brass of Resurrection, Cranleigh 60
(By Rev. H. W. Macklin; by permission of Methuen & Co., Ltd.)

Collar of Amice, Ockham 67
(By Rev. H. W. Macklin; by permission of Methuen & Co., Ltd.)

The Amice de Grys 70
(Drawing by Dr. Fairbank)

A Serjeant-at-Arms, Wandsworth 80
(Lent by Surrey Archæological Society)

Angle of Screens at Send 115
(By P. M. Johnston; by permission of the Surrey Arch. Soc.)

The Keep, Guildford Castle 133
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

Outer Gateway, Sheen Palace 139
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

Wardrobe Court, Sheen Palace 140
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

An Impression of Nonsuch 143
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

Kew Palace 145
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

PAGE

Queen's Cottage, Kew 146
(By J. Tavenor-Perry)

The Cloisters, Lambeth Palace 153
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Carved Panel from Chapel Screen 155
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Grotesque from Library 156
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Carved Bracket from Library 157
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Vane over Juxon's Hall 158
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Bench Terminal in Chapel 166
(By permission of Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Plan of "Ladder of Salvation," Chaldon 174
(By P. M. Johnston)

Painting on Heads of Windows (Two Figures), Godalming . 190
(By P. M. Johnston)

Splay of Window, Guildford 192
(By P. M. Johnston)

St. Mary's, Guildford (Three Figures) 195
(By P. M. Johnston)

The Majesty, St. Mary's, Guildford 197
(By P. M. Johnston)

Lily, Horley Church 203
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Stoke d'Abernon 206
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Merrow 206
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Merstham 206
(By P. M. Johnston)

Jezebel, Pyrford 209
(By P. M. Johnston)

PAGE

Scourging, Pyrford 211
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Shere 212
(By P. M. Johnston)

Inscription, Stoke d'Abernon 213
(By P. M. Johnston)

Crucifix, Stoke d'Abernon 215
(By P. M. Johnston)

Vaulting of Chancel, Stoke d'Abernon 216
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Stoke d'Abernon 217
(By P. M. Johnston)

Decoration, Warlingham 219
(By P. M. Johnston)

St. Christopher, Warlingham 220
(By P. M. Johnston)

...RY,
WANDSWORTH, S.W.

HISTORIC SURREY

By H. E. Malden, M.A.

Hon. Fellow, Trinity Hall, Cambridge

THE historic springs from the prehistoric. The men who left their palæolithic tools in the river-drift, when the Wey was depositing river gravel 150 feet above its present bed at Farnham, are the earliest men of Surrey whom we can discover. But we see them by a passing glimpse only, and cannot tell how their story is continued, if continued at all, into later days. Perhaps glacial cold, or other calamity, left a blank of human life between them and the neolithic folk who have left their hut floors on Croham Hurst and Shirley Common, and scattered their implements over all the dry soils of Surrey. But with these latter people a bond of union can be recognised. Practically the parts of Surrey where remains tell us that man lived in the neolithic age, are the same parts that were inhabited by bronze-using Celts, by Roman conquerors, by Anglo-Saxon invaders, and by Norman lords at the time of the Domesday Survey. The physical features of the country determined the sites of habitation and cultivation. The unembanked Thames spread at each high tide far over the flats on which Southern London now stands; but a range of gravel hills bounded the marshes, rising into heights as at Wimbledon, or stretching in lower terraces of dry ground as at Camberwell. Here men have always lived since there were men here at all. The palæolithic implements, found so numerously in the beds of the Thames and Wandle, have probably been washed down from this higher ground. Pile-villages may perhaps

have stood in the marshes themselves. The gravel hills cap the London clay, and behind them an outcrop of clay reaches right across the county, narrowing to a mere strip in the west. On the clay primitive remains are very uncommon, and ancient villages and Domesday manors are very few.

Similarly on the high grounds of Bagshot Sand, which cover the clay in the north-western part of the county, ancient habitation was sparsely scattered, owing to the barren nature of the soil. But prehistoric remains, notably the fortification on St. George's Hill, are considerably more frequent than on the clay, and the old villages rather more common. These lie chiefly in the little valleys of the brooks, where vegetable mould makes a better soil. But all along the skirts of the great chalk ridge which reaches across the county is a line of ancient villages, near together, from Croydon to the Wey valley. They stand invariably upon the strip of Thanet or Woolwich Sands at the foot of the chalk, and their lands reached over the chalk slopes above. On the chalk where it is wide are other old settlements. Along the southern edge of the chalk, from Farnham to Titsey, is a similar line of villages on the sand, with parishes reaching northwards on to the chalk, and southward sometimes as far as the Wealden clay. Over all this district the prehistoric remains are also common. These become scarcer on the Wealden clay to the south; and here, in the great forest of the Weald, old villages were few and so insignificant that only one of them ranks as a Domesday manor. The ancient common fields, the mark of primitive cultivation, can be shown to have existed all over the chalk and the sands on each side of it, and in connexion with the villages on gravel near the Thames. They did not exist in the later occupied Weald. Substantially it is true to say that where Domesday manors are mentioned there the traces of human occupation go back to the neolithic age, but not elsewhere. For some thousand years B.C. to 1086 A.D. the main part of the population of Surrey lived in a

broad strip across the county, and in another strip above the Thames, touching the other at the eastern side of the county, with settlements up the Mole and Wey valleys connecting them. What manner or race of men they were is another story. Certainly the population changed. New settlers came up the Thames in boats, or strayed into the two ends of the dry country from Kent where there was no physical boundary except woods about Forest Hill and Norwood, and from Berkshire and Hampshire where there is no natural hindrance at all except the valley of the Blackwater. Only from the south it is not likely that population came. The Wealden Forest was inhabited only by a few settlements of charcoal-burners, huntsmen, and outlaws, till after 1086 A.D. Political connexion between Surrey and Sussex is unknown till the Earls de Warenne became great men in both counties. So far as can be gathered from the notices of ancient geographers, and from the not very certain evidence of British coins found in Surrey, the people and rulers of Kent were also known in East Surrey, and the Atrebates, and their branch the Segontiaci of Hampshire and Berkshire, were powerful in West Surrey. The Regni of Sussex were beyond the forest to the south. The Roman conquerors occupied the same lands as the Britons. They penetrated into the Weald as far south as Chiddingfold, and perhaps made glass there. They had something like a small town at Kingston, and another on Farley Heath near Albury. They left extensive but scattered remains near Guildford, and at Stoke d'Abernon on the Mole raised a lofty building, one wall of which is incorporated in the present church. They lived in Southwark, and to have done so must have embanked the Thames. Fetcham, Leatherhead, Abinger, Bletchingley, Croydon, Gatton, Chertsey, Ewell, Titsey, are among the places at or near which they had houses. But they had no big towns. They improved the old trackways which came through the forest from the south coast to the Thames valley. Besides the great Stone Street from Chichester Harbour to London by

way of Ockley and Dorking, and the road from Pevensey through Godstone and Croydon, there is a paved road, traced near Ewhurst, which seems to lie in a line between Shoreham Harbour and Staines, where was a Roman bridge over the Thames; and I can say now, though I could not have said so certainly last year, there was a paved way, presumably Roman, near the line of the present Portsmouth road through Guildford. They improved some pre-existing trackways. Coins of Athens of the fifth or fourth centuries, of Metapontum in Italy, and of Syracuse of the fourth century B.C., found separately at Croydon, tell of Marseilles Greek merchants coming through from the coast before any Roman had heard of Britain. The first Roman to come through Surrey, whom we know of, was the great Caius Julius himself. Where he crossed the Thames may remain a choice subject for the wranglings of antiquaries, specially suitable for such a purpose because no one can ever certainly know. Probability points to Moulsey at the head of the tidal waters, where there was a ford; there was a ford, though a bad one, at Cowey Stakes, the old favourite spot. It is quite likely there were plenty more. The evidence for Brentford, from stakes along the bank of the Thames, is quite insufficient. Probabilities are strongly against it. Cæsar had too much wit to use a tidal ford when a short march would have taken him above the tide. When Edmund Ironsides crossed the Thames at Brentford a number of his men were drowned —and subsequently living peaceful people had too much wit to leave any ford which was really commonly used blocked with stakes. Cowey Stakes Ford was at all events not blocked by stakes. The stakes guarded the side of a dangerous passage.

How the Roman rule faded away out of Surrey remains unknown. Probably the civilised inhabitants departed, as they departed from Silchester, and perhaps even from London, when commerce across the Channel was destroyed, and the coasts became uninhabitable from piratical ravage.

Into their seats came the Germanic Suthrige, a tribe who gave their name to the English county, and left it also at Suthrey Fen in Cambridgeshire. Perhaps the Jutes of Kent at one time were in East Surrey; the Peculiars of Canterbury, such as Croydon and Wimbledon, may possibly mean a Kentish connexion. Almost certainly West Saxons strayed across the western border. Hambledon and Chiddingfold have their counterparts in Hampshire, and the Wocingas were both in Woking Hundred and at Wokingham in Berkshire. The Godalmingas and the Dorchingas were other subordinate tribelets. But the Suthrige must have had a distinct existence and old-established boundaries to mark them off from both South and West Saxons. The great bishop's manor of Farnham would not otherwise have remained divided by the county boundary. If Farnham had not been known to be of the Suthrige it would have been in Hampshire; or if Bentley had not been known to be West Saxon it would have been in Surrey. The boundary between the dioceses of Selsey and of Winchester was marked as now between West Surrey and Sussex in a charter of 909 A.D., which is itself only a confirmation of much more ancient grants. The inclusion of all Surrey, except the Canterbury Peculiars, chiefly on the eastern side of the county, in the West Saxon diocese, marks the political relations of the tribe who occupied the district. This subordination was broken only by Mercian conquest in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the great Mercian kings ruled over all south-eastern England. But under Wulfhere of Mercia in the seventh century the Suthrige had an under king of their own, Frithwald, whose name is preserved in the much re-edited foundation charters of Chertsey Abbey. Though the charters were re-written down to the thirteenth century, his name is likely to be a genuine survival. When Egbert of Wessex destroyed the Mercian overlordship in Britain, the Suthrige are noted as one of the peoples "formerly unjustly forced from his kin." West Saxon rule was the old-established arrangement. It

was in their territories at Kingston that Egbert made his important agreement with Ceolnoth the archbishop for mutual support between Winchester and Canterbury, which had much to do with perpetuating the temporal headship of the former and the spiritual headship of the latter in the whole of Britain. This agreement at the Council of Kingston is the only rational explanation of the custom of Egbert's successors being crowned at Kingston by the subsequent archbishops, for Kingston was never their capital city.

Surrey suffered, like the rest of England, from Danish invasions. One great defeat was inflicted on the Danes at Ockley in 852 A.D. by Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred. But the Danes in after years marched backwards and forwards through the county, and if any Roman buildings survived the Suthrige, they were probably burnt by the Danes. In a county of forests the Anglo-Saxon churches were of wood for the most part, and perished then. The stone Anglo-Saxon buildings at St. Mary's Guildford, Fetcham, Stoke d'Abernon, and perhaps at Ashtead and Godalming, must date from after Canute's accession. But it is noticeable that in three of them Roman bricks were used, a testimony to the amount of Roman ruins still lying about. In the Danish wars Canute attacked London from the river and Surrey side, and is said to have made a way for his ships round the southern end of London Bridge. It was not a difficult feat, with his big fishing boats, over the periodically flooded low land. He only needed to cut through a few banks and raised roads, and to wait for high-water. But he did not take London. No one ever took London from the Surrey side. Sweyn and Olaf failed, Canute failed. William the Conqueror burned Southwark, and then went up to Wallingford to approach London from the north. Wat Tyler's mob was let in over the bridge. Cade's men, after having been let in, foolishly retired to Southwark, and were beaten back when they tried to fight their way in again. The Bastard of Falconbridge was beaten back in 1471. Sir Thomas Wyatt could not venture to attack in

1554, and went round, in vain, by Kingston. In 1647 the Independent Army came into London over London Bridge, but they had persuaded the Presbyterian City to open the gates by blockading the Thames, menacing the north side of London, and threatening to bombard the houses on the bridge. No force ever fought its way in.

William the Norman ravaged in two lines of march through Surrey, and, as we have seen, burnt Southwark. At the time of the battle of Hastings, Surrey was part of the earldom of Leofwine, Harold's brother, and Harold himself held much land in it. The thegns of Surrey sleep with their lord the earl, and with their king, on the hill at Battle. With few exceptions their manors went into the Conqueror's hands. One Englishman, Oswold of Fetcham, Wotton, and Wisley, continued to hold considerable estates. He was brother to the Abbot of Chertsey, whose monastic lands remained to his house, but his English patriotism must remain grievously suspected. One other Englishman, Azor, dead by 1086, seems to have retained some of his land. A huntsman and a goldsmith, the latter a foreigner perhaps, also continued on their land. Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Mortain, Roger of Montgomery, William Fitz-Anseulf, William de Braose, Eustace of Boulogne, are among the great barons who received Surrey lands. But the largest single share went to Richard of Tonbridge, ancestor of the great house of Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford subsequently. A systematic distribution of fiefs is hard to establish in the face of Domesday evidence. Richard had scattered manors also, but he had a great block of manors in East Surrey, near his large Kentish estates. From the earliest times his house was often in opposition to the Crown. English politics used to be hereditary, and it was as natural for a Clare to be baronial as for a Russell to be a Whig. It became advisable to plant a thorn in the sides of the house of Clare. There was a small block of manors which had come to the Crown from Edith, the Queen of Edward the Confessor. These

William Rufus bestowed upon William of Warenne, already a great man in Sussex, and the nucleus of a rival interest to the lords of Tonbridge and Bletchingley was fixed at Dorking and Reigate. The earldom of Surrey was given to the Warennes with these lands. Their castle at Reigate arose six miles from the Clare Castle at Bletchingley. They were nearly as invariably king's men as their neighbours were anti-royalist. The sheriffdom of Surrey and Sussex was frequently in the hands of the lords of Reigate and Lewes; and the administrative union of Surrey and Sussex became for the first time the usual practice. When the house of Warenne had become extinct in the male line, in 1347, their heirs, through females, the Arundels, held some of the same lands, and exercised the same authority. From an Arundel heiress, the wife of Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, the Howards inherited Surrey manors, and the Duke of Norfolk is now lord of the manor of Dorking in lineal descent, though the succession suffered strange vicissitudes of attainder, forfeiture, and restoration, from William of Warenne, the first Earl of Surrey, in 1089 A.D. The Surrey estates of the younger branch, Lords Howard of Effingham and Earls of Nottingham, were a matter of later grant or acquisition. The greater estates of the Clares had come to co-heiresses when the last Clare, Earl of Gloucester, fell on the field of Bannockburn, 1314. Ultimately the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, inherited part of them, and forfeited them to the Crown in 1521. But in the period of the Wars of the Roses all the great baronial estates in Surrey had been broken up among several people, and there was no great dominating influence to array the county for either York or Lancaster. Or rather, in the absence of any great baron, who would probably have been Lancastrian, the middle class and smaller gentry were left to follow Warwick and York, the cause of strong government, as most of the more civilised southern parts of England did.

The mediæval castles of Surrey, if not intended to keep a watch upon each other as Reigate and Bletchingley must have done, were planned to cover the approaches to London from the south, and the road from the Kentish ports to Winchester and the west. This great cross-country route, to which it is convenient to give the name of the Pilgrims' Way, though it is much older than Canterbury pilgrimages, and though half of it at least never bore that name, so far as any one knows, till the Ordnance Survey maps were elaborated, ran from Kent past Reigate and Dorking, through Guildford to Farnham. The main highway, the *Strata Regia*, or *Via Regia* of deeds, was along the chalk downs, not the sandy track at their base from village to village which modern fancy has christened by the name Pilgrims' Way. This road was cut by others, from the coast to the Thames, at or near Farnham, Guildford, Dorking, Reigate, and Godstone. The old castles were at or near the cross-roads. Farnham was the Bishop of Winchester's, Guildford the king's. Curiously there was no castle at Dorking, nor in the gap where the Stone Street goes over the chalk range. In the fourteenth century a residential castle was fortified at Betchworth, and re-fortified, by licence, in 1449. But further down the Stone Street there was once a small castle at Ockley, a Clare manor, which was dismantled early, perhaps by Henry II. It can still be traced near the church and manor-house. At Reigate was the great Warenne Castle. At Bletchingley was the great Clare Castle. But south of Reigate was a place elaborately fortified by wet ditches, Thunderfield Castle, another early Clare stronghold. Nearer to the Godstone and Croydon road out of Sussex, the Bletchingley way, lay Lagham Castle of the St. Johns. Robert Aguillon embattled Addington in 1278, and Sir John Cobham fortified Sterborough, close to the Kent border, in 1344. Most of these, and they exhaust the known Surrey castles beyond moated houses or prehistoric earthworks, are only matter of antiquarian research now. They have gone, like

Addington, or have left mere traces like Ockley, Lagham, and Thunderfield. Two only are considerable as ruins, Farnham and Guildford. The former has a magnificent mound; the work may be of Walkelin, the Conqueror's friend, fenced with a stone shell keep by Henry de Blois. When Henry II. "slighted" castles he did not spare Bishop Henry's castle at Wolvesey by Winchester, and the expenses of dismantling it appear in his Pipe Roll. But there is no entry about Farnham, and a pointed omission in the *Waverley Annals* of any notice of interference with it. Apart from the keep and its immediate surroundings, Farnham is not a ruin. The bishop of to-day dines in Henry de Blois' great hall, perhaps in Walkelin's hall; though its ancient features have been overlaid by seventeenth century and later brickwork. Guildford is first named in the Pipe Roll of 1173, for repairs. The mound, with a fragment of a shell keep round it, is older than that; Norman, or in its earthwork pre-Norman, with respect to the prejudices of those who believe that only Normans made such earthworks. The square keep, resting partly on the mound, and partly on the solid ground at its foot, contains ornament older than 1173. The very extensive buildings outside the keep were a favourite abode of kings, from Henry II. to Henry III. The latter spent much money on them, building, among other things, a nursery with iron bars to save the future Edward I. and Edmund Crouchback from tumbling out. In Edward III.'s time the royal apartments in the castle were good enough to shelter a distinguished guest, Robert of Artois. But in Richard II.'s time they were badly out of repair; and when kings subsequently came to Guildford it is possible that they stayed at the manor-house in the park, which also was "puled down and decaied" in 1607. The park is now half covered by the station and railway-men's small houses. The remains of the castle are a public garden. When it was being laid out in the nineteenth century there was a suggestion, happily neglected, "to pull

Shell Keep, Farnham Castle.

down the unsightly ruin on the mound, and erect an elegant bandstand in its place."

The great Surrey castles were never objects of serious attack and defence, except in the war of 1216–17, when the French prince and the barons wanted to master the great road from Kent to Winchester which they commanded, and when the Earl of Pembroke wished to win it back for the side of Henry III.

Two of the old Surrey market towns, Reigate and Farnham, probably grew up as adjuncts and dependencies of their castles. Guildford was an important cross-road place, when there was a ford over the river and a convenient gap in the downs for north and south traffic. Kingston was an old crossing-place of the Thames. Chertsey solely existed because of the great abbey. Dorking had a somewhat similar situation to that of Guildford. Croydon was on a main road, and one of the residences of the archbishop. Bletchingley was a pocket borough of the Clares, and as such sent two members to Edward the First's Parliament. Leatherhead was said in the thirteenth century to have been the ancient capital of the county, a statement not borne out by any evidence, though a county election did take place there in James the Second's reign. Southwark and the neighbouring villages existed because of the Thames and London. Southwark itself became a bone of contention between the city and the county authorities. London at last annexed it, the first step in that larger annexation which has created a London county at the expense of neighbouring shires. These Thames-side places grew more populous, however, partly from the residence of great men, chiefly ecclesiastics, who found a suburban home near Westminster desirable. Bermondsey Abbey made Bermondsey. The Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester, for a time the Archbishop of York, the abbots of Beaulieu and Battle, the prior of Lewes, and some temporal lords lived in Lambeth, Southwark, and the vicinity.

Surrey is now the special country suburb of London. The practice, which began by the Thames side, went on to cover further parts of Surrey with the great country houses of kings and great men. The kings in particular were attracted partly by the neighbourhood of the Forest of Windsor. So far back as the Domesday Survey there was land at Pirford in the King's Forest. The Bagshot Sands, west of the Wey, and north of the Hog's Back, were thinly inhabited, poor land, favourable for the preservation of game. But Henry II., not content with this, afforested the whole county. This outrageous extension of royal rights was given up for money by Richard I. when he wanted funds for the Crusade. The entry of the sum received, in the Pipe Roll, gives the name of the main road along the Hog's Back as *Strata de Geldedon*, Guildown Street. It formed the southern boundaries of what was to be left in the Forest. This road, and its continuation along the downs east of Guildford, is so often the boundary of ancient parishes and manors, that it clearly was a very old-established line. Continual controversy went on about the limits of the Forest, till Edward the Third's time. It was finally decided that Surrey, west of the Wey and north of the Hog's Back, was a purlieu of the Forest of Windsor. That is not forest, but a district in which the king had certain rights over game. The distinction between a purlieu and forest proper may not have always been very clear, and under the Tudors all this country was referred to as forest and treated as such. Forest courts were held in it under Elizabeth. The struggle for the extension or curtailment of forests was not only concerned with game preservation. Even a Plantagenet king was not quite so despotic a master in the country at large as he was in his forests. There were, of course, villages and cultivation in the Forest. A number of royal parks were enclosed in it, or partly in it, like Byfleet Park. Woking, Henley, Bagshot, and Guildford parks were entirely in this part of Surrey, but were all parks in the Forest of Windsor. The red deer was not only in the parks,

but wandered freely over all the open land, and trespassed upon cultivation. The parks and chase of the Bishops of Winchester—the latter included what is now Frensham Common and reached to Hindhead, a suggestive name—increased the number of beasts of chase. The royal forest of Woolmer and Alice Holt was close by. Further east the Earls of Warenne had a park south of Dorking, and the red deer of the Holmwood, which by the by was really the *Homewood*, as contrasted with the *Highwood*, the great Wealden Forest further south, were famous. The roe deer was wild in Surrey. The partridge and bustard and black cock were indigenous. Pheasants existed in the fourteenth century. The monks of Chertsey had license in the twelfth century to hunt the hare, the fox, and the wild cat in their lands, even in the purlieu of the forest. When the more dangerous wild beasts disappeared—if anything is more dangerous than a wild cat at bay—is unknown. But Wolveshill is a name near Capel in the fourteenth century in Dorking manor rolls, and wolves may have lingered till near the date. Cobbett saw a true wild cat near Farnham in the eighteenth century.

No wonder that the Plantagenet kings loved to lie in their Surrey manors. But royalty established itself more habitually still in Surrey under the Tudors. Richmond had been, under its old name Sheen, a royal seat from Edward III.'s time. Henry VII. made it a more magnificent and usual dwelling-place. Henry VIII. had a mania for acquisition of land and building of houses. He acquired Oatlands by a discreditable piece of chicanery, making Thomas Cromwell guardian of a minor owner on purpose to arrange an exchange of the ward's ancestral estate for the suppressed priory of Tandridge. There he began a magnificent palace. At Nonsuch he acquired the manor of Cuddington, pulled down manor-house, church, and village, and began an even more sumptuous palace, which amazed visitors from the Continent by its variety of statuary and stucco bas-reliefs, towers, courts, and gardens. Henry

threw a number of Surrey parishes into the new chase of Hampton Court. A Tudor or early Stewart sovereign had not only houses such as Whitehall, Hampton Court, and Windsor, close to Surrey, but in the county itself had Nonsuch, Richmond, Oatlands, Byfleet, Woking, and Guildford, besides other smaller manor-houses, not one of them beyond a day's ride from any of the others. The first three, and Woking, were houses on a very large scale. They had a lodge at Bagshot, another at Henley Park, a manor-house at Mortlake taken from the Archbishop, one at Esher taken from the Bishop of Winchester, one at Pirford taken from the Abbey of Westminster.

It was West Surrey which was so much honoured or burdened. The county groaned under the expense of purveyance when the Court moved from place to place, requisitioning carts and buying provisions at its own price. Lucky favourites—Weston at Sutton, Zouch at Woking, Clinton and Wolley at Pirford, Cecil at Wimbledon, and many others—reaped the benefit of a superfluity of houses to be given away or let at nominal rents. The county benefited too probably, from a lessening of purveyance. Other leading men were settled in the county under the Tudors, partly because the Court was so often there, partly because it was near London. Such were Sir Francis Walsingham at Barn Elms, Lord Howard of Effingham in Reigate Priory, the Earl of Lincoln at West Horsley. The immediate suburbs and West Surrey were then, as now, the chief residential part of the county. In South-east Surrey the iron industry flourished, and also in the Weald all along the Sussex border. London gentlemen and nobility did not then penetrate south of the immediate neighbourhood of the chalk downs as a rule. One reason, no doubt, was the villainously bad condition of the roads on the Wealden clay. Indeed, through communication from London by Surrey into Sussex seems to have become less as the Roman roads became worn out. After Edward I. no sovereign can be shown to have passed

through Surrey into Sussex till Elizabeth made a progress to Lord Montacute's house at Cowdray. After Montfort's army marched through to Lewes in 1264 no army went through Surrey into Sussex nor out of Sussex into Surrey. The Stone Street between Chichester and London was quite abandoned for a great part of its course in Surrey. None of the other old roads which came through the Weald were used in all parts of their course. That from Shoreham Harbour to Staines was lost altogether. The great central road on the chalk from east to west was used. The roads which came across the north-west and north-east corners of the county, from Hampshire and Kent respectively, were used. But so long as iron and timber could be dragged from the Weald to the Thames, and Defoe says that as late as his time it sometimes took over a year to convey an oak from the Weald to Deptford, it was enough. The only trade which up to the last century came straight through from the Sussex coast was that of smugglers, who rode with kegs of brandy and parcels of silk, leading pack horses. It must have been consoling to ministers, when in a panic about invasion, to find that Horsham sent in a petition to Parliament in 1750 saying that when they wanted to drive to London they had to go round by the Dover road. The French could not have got artillery up to a battle of Dorking under William III. or George II. But however impassable the Weald may have been, there were substantial farmers in it, or men who made money by iron and farming combined. The old houses, manor-houses, and others, now farms, are built of magnificent oak timbers, and though wood was cheap, imply a flourishing middle-class population.

There were few really old families of gentry in Surrey after the Tudor reigns. The Westons of Albury and Ockham, not to be confounded with the Westons of Sutton, and the Gaynesfords of Crowhurst, were among the few who remained for long. Others, like Vincent of Stoke d'Abernon, were descended in the female line from old Surrey

families. The history of half or more of the manors tells of a London citizen buying, or foreclosing a mortgage, some time from the fifteenth century onwards. Religious troubles had an effect too. Weston of Sutton, Gage of Haling, Sanders of Charlwood, Fromonde of Cheam, and Copley of Gatton, were Catholic recusant families, and suffered in fortune accordingly, though only Gages were entirely dispossessed at a stroke. The Brays of Shiere, the Mores of Loseley, the Onslows of Cranleigh and Clandon, the Evelyns of Ditton, Wotton, and Godstone, all came into the county under the Tudors from other parts of England. It is curious that Brays, Mores, Evelyns, and Onslows, all successively owned the same house, Baynards, though it was the principal family mansion of none of the heads of the respective families. It still stands, old at the core, but much modernised in sham antique style by the late Mr. Thurlow, nephew to the Lord Chancellor. Sir Reginald Bray of Shiere ruled England under Henry VII. Sir Christopher, Sir William, and Sir George More of Loseley ruled Surrey from Henry VIII. to James I. John Evelyn, of Wotton by birth and ultimate ownership, is not only famous in literature and science from the Civil Wars to the reign of Anne, but in Surrey left his mark by beginning the planting of trees upon the barren sands round his ancestral home. The beautiful woods of the Leith Hill district originated from him. He laid out the grounds of Wotton for his brother, and of Albury Park for Mr. Howard. But after the influence of the family of More had waned, that of Onslow became the leading political house in Surrey. The first prominent Onslow in Surrey was Sir Richard, who commanded the County Militia for Parliament in the Civil War. The Stoughtons were another Puritan family who became important at that time. New gentlemen's families bought estates in Surrey, and old yeoman families prospered and became gentry, receiving or assuming coats of arms. Some of these, and some other families, also sank back into the position of farmers, or lower. A deeply-rooted fiction

connects certain yeoman families with the same land since the Conquest. This is never susceptible of proof before the fourteenth century. The history of most subordinate holdings or manors cannot be traced continuously since then. Many can be traced for a time, at various times, and more from the seventeenth century onwards. One point comes out certainly, that the old copyholds and small freeholds changed hands every few generations; and though the same families remained in the same neighbourhoods, it was upon different farms, and in different social positions. The longest continuous holding of the same farm by the same family which I know is from 1622 to 1824, and this family rose during that time from the position of small farmers to country gentlemen, and fell back again into the position of farmers.

The small holders were bought out in large numbers by new gentlemen, between 1780 and 1830. Farms were turned into country houses, and most of the new owners were residents, who increased employment, and spread civilisation, especially in the most picturesque which had been the most barbaric parts of the county. Still more recent changes—railways, and, above all, motor cars—have turned owners too often into mere visitors. The social effect upon the comradeship of all classes of country people, upon continuous employment, and upon the sense of mutual duties, is not good. Surrey has become, and is probably destined to become more and more a mere playground for London. Old conditions cannot be expected to be everlasting, but we see them changing with regret. Yet as society survived, and ultimately benefited by such a tremendous revolution as that revealed in Domesday, so new and good conditions will no doubt ultimately emerge from the revolution which is noisily hurried in upon the wheels of the motor car.

SURREY BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

By George Clinch, F.S.A. Scot., F.G.S.

THE present chapter is mainly concerned with that part of ancient Surrey of which we have little, if any, written evidence. It is merely an attempt to give a few of the main outlines of the early story of the county. It is a sketch founded almost entirely upon the antiquities and physical remains which have been found from time to time.

Strictly speaking, there is a small amount of written history available for our purpose before the Norman Conquest. We have inscribed coins, and lapidary as well as other inscriptions, Saxon land-charters, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to say nothing of the writings of the classical authors; which, unquestionably, throw some species of dim side-light upon the later years which preceded the Norman Conquest. But, as far as the history of Surrey itself is concerned, there is little to guide us earlier than the Domesday Survey, in which there are recorded many interesting, valuable, and significant facts connected with the beginnings of the manorial and feudal aspects of Surrey. This little sketch, therefore, merely aims at giving a condensed survey, or review, of Surrey from the archæological remains which have been discovered. There are necessarily many gaps; there is much that is wanting; the sketch must be regarded as only an outline, the fuller details of which may be filled up later on by local observers.

There are several subjects that require fuller study.

The diffusion of different races at various periods in the county, their occupations, their arts, their methods of living, fighting, and burial, their superstitions, beliefs, and religions. It is impossible on the present occasion to deal with these interesting and important points, although it may be taken as certain that archæological science will, in time, throw some light upon them.

For the present purpose it seems desirable to divide the story of Surrey before the Conquest into the following periods, in nearly every one of which the county has furnished archæological remains of almost, if not quite, first-class importance:—

(1) Palæolithic Age.
(2) Neolithic Age.
(3) Bronze Age.
(4) Early Bronze Age (Late Celtic).
(5) Romano-British Period.
(6) Anglo-Saxon Period.

PALÆOLITHIC PERIOD

The earliest traces of man's presence in Surrey undoubtedly belong to the palæolithic period. Certain irregularly broken flints procured from a gravel-pit at Mitcham Common, have been thought by some to represent the work of man during the so-called "eolithic period," but the idea is not generally endorsed, and for the present they must be regarded as mere gravel stones, and useful only for road-making and other similar purposes.

The chief discoveries of palæolithic antiquities in Surrey have been made in the neighbourhood of Guildford, Dorking, Farnham, Limpsfield, and in the Thames valley, particularly in the neighbourhood of Wandsworth, Earlsfield, and Roehampton. Doubtless many more implements may be looked for at and near the point where the river Wandle falls into the river Thames. Practically all the Surrey implements of this early period are found in drift

gravels, in or associated with river valleys. It is a curious fact that they have not yet been found in the upper part of the Wandle valley where there are extensive beds of gravel, in which one might certainly expect to find implements.

The fact that drift implements are worn and bruised by contact with other stones, implies that they have travelled some distance, in some cases perhaps considerable distances, in the bed of a rapidly moving torrent or river. Their present site, therefore, does not always represent the place where they were manufactured or used by palæolithic man, but as far as Surrey is concerned there is abundant evidence that palæolithic man lived in considerable numbers within the boundaries of the county.

NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The discoveries made in Surrey during the past twenty or thirty years have done much to illustrate the inhabitants of the district during the neolithic period. Neolithic implements have been found in great abundance and in practically every parish of Surrey. The sites of several factories, where implements were chipped or ground into shape, have also been ascertained.

Perhaps the most interesting remains of all are those of the dwellings of the neolithic race, several of which have been recorded in the north-eastern part of the county, and some have been discovered and described by the present writer. Examples of these hut circles or floors exist on several of the uncultivated tracts, of which, owing to the unproductive character of the soil, there are many acres in Surrey. Remains of this kind have been found at Shirley Common and Croham Hurst, two eminences near Croydon. It is practically certain that many others are to be found in the western end of the county.

Another neolithic site of great importance is Waddon,

near the south-western environs of Croydon. Here, in 1902, three bee-hive shaped chambers excavated in the hard, firm Thanet sand, were accidentally cut into during some drainage excavations. Careful examination tended to show that they had originally been excavated in the neolithic period as sepulchral chambers, and that subsequently they had been used as occasional or temporary residences. A full account of the discovery was published in the *Transactions of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society*, 1902–3.

The importance of the Waddon discovery consists in the valuable testimony it bears to the form, size, position, and general character of the neolithic dwelling, as well as the neolithic sepulchral chamber. The arched entrances at Waddon, where there were three, each giving separate admittance to the three chambers, are of special interest on account of the very early period to which they belong. Although not arches of construction, they are most valuable as showing how our primitive forefathers contrived to make an entrance, sufficient in all respects for a man to pass, with the smallest possible expenditure of labour. The whole of the chambers probably resembled very nearly the size and shape of the average neolithic hut constructed on the surface or on the hill-side, as they were at Croham Hurst. They belong to a class of sepulchral chambers of which many examples have been found in Sicily, Portugal, and France.

Some of the defensive earthworks of Surrey, such as those at Wimbledon, Anstiebury, and Holmbury, are probably of neolithic date, and it is interesting that a regular line of hill-top defensive works extends practically along the whole of the border-line between Surrey and Kent. Charlton and Holwood (Keston), and Westerham in Kent, and Wallington and Lingfield in Surrey, furnish a series of defensive works which indicate that there has nearly always been a definite boundary-line between Kent and the adjoining county, Surrey.

BRONZE AGE

Among the prehistoric antiquities of Surrey there are many which, without question, may be referred to the Bronze Age. Full details have already been given in the *Victoria History*, and to that account the reader may be referred for information as to the nature of every discovery.

The remains consist chiefly of hoards of bronze implements, whole or broken, and the following list of places at which the antiquities were found roughly indicates the diffusion of population at this early period: Albury, Beddington, Beddlestead, Carshalton, Chelsham, Croydon, Dorking, Farnham, Kingston Hill, Wandsworth, and particularly in the bed of the river Thames.

EARLY IRON AGE

The antiquities of this period found in Surrey are neither important nor abundant. Bronze brooches and some small enamelled stands of bronze are recorded by Martin Tupper as having been found at Farley Heath, and several Late Celtic objects have been found in the bed of the Thames near Surrey; whilst British coins, some of which are doubtless earlier than the era of the Roman occupation, have been discovered in various parts of Surrey, particularly at Farley Heath. Pottery of Late Celtic character has been discovered on the site of the ancient camp at Wallington and near Haslemere. Generally speaking, however, antiquities of this age are scanty in Surrey.

ROMAN PERIOD

Surrey long ago acquired somewhat distinguished celebrity in the antiquarian world on account of its containing one of the Roman sites which, for one reason or another, have been supposed to represent the ancient station named

Noviomagus in the Antonine Itinerary. At that site, Woodcote, near Russell Hill, to the south of Croydon, certain Roman antiquities have certainly been found, but they are hardly of a character to justify the belief that this was the site of Noviomagus. Moreover, there are certain difficulties as to distances which appear to be irreconcilable with such a theory. Keston and Springhead in Kent are both, by some, held to have better claims.

The possibility of Croydon having been the site of Noviomagus has recently received considerable support from the discovery in that town of two important hoards of Roman coins. One hoard, unearthed at Wandle Road in 1903, consisted of nearly three thousand coins. The other, consisting of 281 pieces, was discovered at South End, Croydon, in 1905.

The smaller hoard is one of considerable interest. From internal evidence it seems probable (1) that its date was either 154 or 155 A.D.; (2) that it was the property of a Roman horse soldier, some of the older coins, representing his savings, being considerably worn, whilst others, in practically mint condition, represented the actual money paid him on his retirement from active life after twenty-five years' service. The theory is that the retired soldier went to live at Croydon, and placed his treasure in an earthen pot, which he then buried in his garden. Soon after this he died, and his secret being lost, the jar of money was only found by accident when the recent diggings were made for drainage works.

The larger hoard was probably deposited in the first half of 351 A.D.

These two hoards of coins have, in addition to their purely numismatic interest, great antiquarian value, inasmuch as they throw some light on what has long been a disputed point in the topography of Roman Britain, namely, the site of Noviomagus. Mr. F. A. Walters,[1] F.S.A., who considers

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 4, vol. v., pp. 36–62.

we now have evidence that Croydon was a Roman station of some importance, does indeed hint at the possibility of its being Noviomagus, but one may perhaps go a step further and assert that, in view of all the circumstances, there is good reason to think that Croydon really represents the actual site of that station, situated ten miles on the Roman road out of London. The fact is, this town hitherto has furnished so few remains of the Roman period that its claims to represent the site of a Roman station have never yet been adequately considered. Keston and Woodcote have been suggested, although they both lack sufficient evidence of Roman remains and roads. Croydon, on the other hand, is certainly situated on a Roman road, and if, as now appears probable, the length of the Roman mile in Britain may be regarded as of about the same as that of the modern statute mile, there is no difficulty about the question of distance from London.

The site of a Roman building quite near the course of this road at Purley has recently been observed, and affords interesting evidence of the Roman occupation of the district.

In addition to this unexplored site at Purley, there are several foundations of Roman buildings in Surrey. On a site at Park Farm, Beddington, lying between Beddington Lane and Hackbridge Railway Station, some foundations, probably those of a small house, were found in 1871. It was carefully excavated and explored, and although the building materials and other remains indicated quite a plain ordinary building, it was evident that it had been heated in the usual Roman method by means of a hypocaust. The fragments of pottery found on the site included apparently examples of pseudo-Samian and New Forest or possibly Castor ware. Roman and Saxon coins were also found on the site.

Another interesting set of foundations of a Roman building was found at Titsey Park during the progress of drainage works there in 1847. Exploratory excavations were conducted in 1864, 1865, and 1873, and enough was

found to show that this was the site of a Roman house of moderate dimensions. Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., however, in a valuable paper communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, has shown that the building has a new and hitherto unsuspected interest. Not only was it a small dwelling-house, but from the traces of tanks and other features in the plan, it is pretty certain that fulling and laundry works were carried on there, in the same way, but on a smaller scale, as was the case at the Roman buildings at Darenth, Kent, and Chedworth, Gloucestershire.

A Roman house or small building of some kind, furnished with a hypocaust for heating, was discovered at Bletchingley. Another building of more extensive character and similar period was discovered at Walton-on-the-Hill.

The numerous traces of Roman occupation found at Southwark and along the southern bank of the Thames, as well as in the river-bed, belong perhaps more to Roman London than Roman Surrey.

At Peckham a glass urn was found, and numerous other traces of the Romans have been recorded from different parts of Surrey. Of these it is not necessary to give full details in this place.

What is probably the most important Roman site in Surrey, however, is on Farley Heath, in the parish of Albury, where it is fairly certain a military camp and some buildings of the Romans were formerly situated. As long ago as 1850, Martin Tupper, in a charming little volume, entitled *Farley Heath: a Record of its Roman Remains and other Antiquities*, called attention to the interesting character of the remains discovered there. He marks on a plan—"Plenty of coins, enamels, celts, crockery, and other remains are scattered everywhere over this area." Yet, in spite of this very attractive piece of information, the land is allowed to be undisturbed. It is almost certain that researches at this place would lead to some important discoveries, and it is hoped that the local archæological society, or some other representative and properly qualified authority,

will take up the systematic examination of this site at an early opportunity.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

The position of burials of the Anglo-Saxon period gives some clue to the former distribution of population. This is truer perhaps of Surrey than of some other districts, because in Surrey we find Anglo-Saxon cemeteries not always on high and commanding sites, and it is reasonable therefore to suppose that they buried their dead in places not far removed from their dwellings or villages. The recent important discoveries of Anglo-Saxon burials at Mitcham, an account of which will be given later on, were made on a site not much above the river Wandle, but still it was the most elevated spot within convenient distance of the group of Anglo-Saxon villages along the river valley, such as Beddington, Wallington, Carshalton, &c. There are, indeed, six separate sites lying between Chipstead and Mitcham at which interments of the Anglo-Saxon period have been discovered. The following are brief details of each.

Farthing Down, near Coulsdon.—On the high ground here, over four hundred feet about sea-level, several barrows have long been known to exist. One of them, indeed, was opened as early as the year 1770, and a perfect human skeleton was found within it. In 1871 Mr. Wickham Flower examined the remaining graves. Sixteen of these in two groups about a quarter of a mile apart were examined. All the graves were hewn in the solid chalk, and varied in depth from three feet to a little more below the original surface of the ground. Each was covered by a low mound, or barrow, not unlike the churchyard graves of the present day. The bodies were in every case lying with the head towards the west, indicating that the interments were Christian. The bodies were buried entire, without previous cremation. There were several important

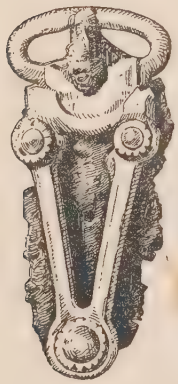
objects in the graves, the most interesting, perhaps, being a drinking-cup made of staves of wood bound together, and ornamented by bronze-gilt mounts, the chief part of the decoration being in the form of a serpent, twisted up into a series of loops, like the stitch used in modern knitting. Iron buckles, glass beads, an iron sword 38 inches long, and a shield-boss, also of iron, were amongst the other antiquities procured from the graves at Farthing Down.

Sanderstead.—Between three and four miles N.N.E. of Farthing Down, several Anglo-Saxon graves were disclosed in 1884 during the making of a new road and other works in laying out an estate for building at Sanderstead. The precise spot was about a quarter of a mile to the S.E. of Sanderstead Railway Station. Unfortunately most of the graves were disturbed and their contents scattered by the workmen before the interesting character of the remains was recognised. A rough hand-made pottery vase and two small iron knives, however, were found, and are now in the possession of Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.

Croydon.—During the cutting of a new road on the Elms Estate, between February 1893 and September 1894, the workmen came upon a number of interments, with antiquities of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. Mr. A. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., in his article on "Anglo-Saxon Remains," published in the *Victoria History of Surrey*, vol. i., regards this as the most important discovery of Anglo-Saxon remains in the county. In the graves were found (in addition to some pottery and other objects of the Roman period) the following Anglo-Saxon antiquities: Twelve iron shield-bosses, three swords, three axe-heads, an angon,[1] a glass cup, and a number of minor antiquities. One of the swords, it may be observed, retained the bronze chape of its scabbard. The glass cup was furnished with a small circular foot, and in that respect may perhaps be

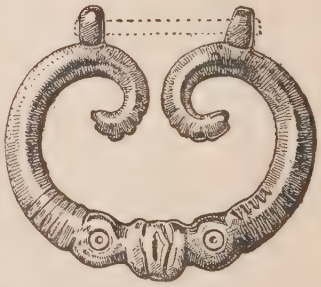
[1] The angon was a javelin-like weapon, with a barbed point, and long, thin shaft of iron, which is believed to have been employed at close quarters for transfixing an opponent's shield.

regarded as an improvement on the typical round-bottomed tumbler, of which several examples have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, and from which we derive the name of our modern drinking-glass. The chief antiquities found in this town are now preserved at the Town Hall, Croydon, and in the British Museum.



Bronze Buckle found at Mitcham.

Mitcham.—For some years past remains of Anglo-Saxon interments have been from time to time brought to light during the process of digging out gravel from a pit near Mitcham Railway Station, and close by the river Wandle. At a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Mr. H. F. Bidder read a paper giving the results of his observations, extending over a long period of time. No less than sixty-seven graves have been opened, and their contents have been carefully noted. Sketches, photographs, measurements, and planning have been employed in order to secure a complete and intelligible record, and Mr. Bidder is to be congratulated upon the production of an extremely valuable piece of scientific work.



Bronze Buckle found at Mitcham.

It would be impossible in a brief sketch like the present to give details of Mr. Bidder's discoveries, but there are one or two points of great importance which must be mentioned. The first is this. There were found four saucer-shaped brooches of bronze gilt of a type which is common in the Thames valley, and particularly in the Oxfordshire and Berkshire district, of which Abingdon may be regarded as the centre. The absence of saucer-shaped brooches from

the numerous and extensive Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Kent furnishes another proof that Kent occupied an isolated position in relation to its neighbouring county Surrey. It strengthens the theory that Kent was inhabited by Jutes, whilst Surrey and Sussex were peopled by Saxons, and that the ancient line of defensive or protective earthworks between Surrey and Kent, to which attention has already been directed, still served as a tribal boundary down to Anglo-Saxon times. Another point to be noticed is the marked absence of characteristic animal ornament in the Mitcham cemetery.

Saucer Brooch of gilt bronze, from Mitcham.

The most important features of the burials were: (1) The absence of anything like profusion of personal ornaments; and (2) the abundance, proportionally, of east and west burials. These points, apparently unimportant, are really of the greatest value. They help to prove, what had already been indicated by the burials on Farthing Downs, the beginning of Christian influence in East Surrey. They suggest, one might almost say they prove, that the Christian Church in Kent, re-established by Augustine in 597, sent missionaries into this district to teach the new religion in the early part of the seventh century, a period to which the Mitcham cemetery has been ascribed by the leading antiquaries of the day.

Wallington.—In 1896 some glass beads were found here in association with a human skeleton lying with the head to the west; but, unfortunately, the details of the discovery were not accurately noted at the time.

Beddington.—At Park Farm, not far from Hackbridge Railway Station, Anglo-Saxon remains have been found. Not much is recorded, but the site is promising, especially in view of the recent discoveries at Mitcham.

Carshalton.—Some interesting remains of Anglo-Saxon interments were found at Carshalton in 1906. The actual antiquities were few, but distinctly such as one would expect to find in Anglo-Saxon graves.

Other burials of the Anglo-Saxon period in Surrey have been recorded from Walton-on-Thames and Fetcham.

In addition to certain individual Anglo-Saxon objects found in different parts of the county, two important hoards of coins must be mentioned, viz. :—

(i.) *Dorking.*—Lower Merriden Farm at Winterford Hanger. Seven hundred silver coins and about six ounces of fragments were found enclosed in a wooden box. They were mainly of the first half of the ninth century, but the hoard could not have been deposited before the year 870.

(ii.) *Croydon.*—Another hoard of the same period and character, containing 250 silver coins, a few small ingots of silver, &c., was found in the manor of Whitehorse during the construction of the railway line from West Croydon through Selhurst and Thornton Heath to Balham. Many of the coins were in excellent preservation when found.

As far as is known, none of the Anglo-Saxon antiquities from Surrey are of a definitely Christian character; but, on the other hand, cremation is rarely if ever found, and in the majority of the graves it has been observed that the bodies have been placed with the head in a western direction. Both these facts are distinctly in favour of the theory that after about the year 650 the inhabitants of Surrey were mainly Christians or living under the influence of Christian customs and Christian tradition.

Several Surrey parishes and manors are mentioned in pre-Conquest charters, such as those of Chertsey Abbey; and the county possesses some churches, the masonry of which may without hesitation be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period. St. Mary's Church, Guildford, and Albury Church are two well-known instances; but even in

cases where no visible remains exist, there is in certain churches evidence of pre-Conquest work, and it may be taken as certain that many of the parish churches of Surrey were established before the period of the Norman Conquest.

THE FORESTS OF SURREY

By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

WITH the exception of the summits of the chalk downs, and the stretches of heath on the north-west of the county, Surrey was from early days one of the best wooded districts in the whole of England. To this fact the old place-names bear ample evidence. We have Woodbridge, Woodcote, Woodham, Woodhill, Woodmasterne, Woodrough, and several Woodsides; and, on the other hand, Brookwood, Chartwood, Collingwood, Earlswood, Holmwood, Hookwood, Norwood, Queenswood, Smithwood, and Westwood. The Anglo-Saxon *hurst*, implying a thick wood, abounds. Thus, exclusive of a variety of field and farmstead names with a like termination, the following are readily found on the smaller maps of the Ordnance Survey: Ashurst, Chalhurst, Crowhurst, Duxhurst, Ewhurst, Grenehurst, Holdhurst, Killinghurst, Langhurst, Mynthurst, Pickhurst, Pullinghurst, Rickhurst, Rydinghurst, Sydenhurst, Trashurst, and Yelhurst. Hurst Farm, Hurst Park, and the reduplicated name of Hurstwood also occur.

As to species of trees, the oak has given its name to Oakdene, Oakwood, Ockham, Ockley, Ockshott, Okedon, and Oxted; the ash to Ash, Ashtead, and Ashurst; the box to Boxhill and Boxgrove; and the beech to Buckland.

The woods were so dense in the south of the county and in the valleys of the centre that the early settlers could effect no permanent lodgment until they had felled the trees and made a clearing. Hence the abundance, in specific districts, of the terminal "field," which always denotes a

clearing; among the best known are Englefield, Fairfield, Flitchfield, Heathfield, Limpsfield, Lingfield, Lowfield, Mayfield, Meadfield, Nutfield, Shortfield, Smallfield, Springfield, Tatsfield, Thunderfield, and Westfield. A still more interesting Surrey place terminal is that of "fold," the name for an enclosure or structure made of felled trees for the protection and shelter of sheep or cattle. This word was so distinctive of that south strip of Surrey, which embraced a part of the vast Weald or ancient forest, that it is not infrequently known as the Fold Country. Here lie the three contiguous parishes of Alfold, Dunsfold, and Cheddingfold, while the Ordnance Survey gives us Durfold, Ifold, Kingfold, Runfold, and Shurfold. A study of parish maps brings about a score more of these folds to light among the names of fields or of single farmsteads.

The Weald, known as the forest of Anderida or Andred, was a vast wood in the days before the beginning of the making of "England," which stretched right away from the coast of Kent over the north of Sussex and through the southern skirts of Surrey into Hampshire. Owing to the density of the timber and underwood, and the nature of the soil, but little progress was made during the Roman occupation in bringing into cultivation any part of the forest of Andred. By a slow and gradual process, this gloomy forest, frequented at first only by a few herdsmen with their swine and cattle, became the permanent abode here and there of settlers, who rid patches of timber and brushwood, establishing themselves on the clearings, which they cultivated.[1]

The Domesday Survey of Surrey yields most conclusive testimony as to the extent and widespread nature of the woodlands at the beginning of the Norman period. The value of woodland in those days was very considerable. Apart from building and fencing purposes, and from its indispensable service as fuel, the woods furnished a limited

[1] See my account of Kent Forestry in vol. i., *Victoria Co. Hist. Kent*, 1908.

amount of rough pasturage or agistment for horned cattle and horses, but more especially in the autumn pannage for the swine. The sustenance afforded for the pigs by the acorns and beechmast was all-important to the poorer classes, as their chief food supply came from the swine. The Great Survey was compiled by different sets of commissioners; it is therefore only natural to find that differing methods of computation were adopted, more particularly with regard to woodland. In some counties the size of the woods was calculated by lineal measure (miles and furlongs), as in Northamptonshire and Worcestershire, or by square measure (acres), as in Lincolnshire, and sometimes by an admixture of both these forms of measurement, as in Derbyshire. But the more usual plan was to give a rough estimate of the size and value by entering the number of swine that the wood was able to fatten with its acorns and beechmast. Moreover, the estimating by the pigs admitted of a twofold method. One plan, which was adopted in the surveys of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, and to a great extent in Kent, was to enter the full approximate number of swine for which the particular wood could find pannage. The other plan, which was followed in Surrey, as also in Hampshire and Sussex, was the stating of the number of swine due as tribute to the lord for the privilege of pannage, which was usually one in seven. In Surrey the custom at Malden and at Titsey was for the villein to give one in seven of the swine to the lord, but at Battersea and Streatham the proportion was only one in ten.

Woodland is entered in fully three-fourths of the manors enumerated in the Surrey survey. It is in each case calculated that the wood is worth so many tributary swine. The numbers of swine thus due to the lord naturally vary very greatly—from 200 at Croydon down to 3 each at Farncombe, Fetcham, and Mickleham, and to a single one at Tadworth in Banstead. With the exception of Croydon, it is quite easy nowadays to realise the great woods that then

prevailed on the manors where the tribute was large. The following are those that reached 100 or upwards, in addition to Croydon:—Farnham, 175; Send, 160; Limpsfield, 150; Woking, 148; Reigate and Tandridge, each 140; Chobham, 130; and 100 each at Bramley, Ewell, Godalming, and Walkhampsted. In proportion to its area, Surrey in 1086 fattened more swine, and hence possessed more woodland, than any other county of England. The survey takes little account of the Surrey strip of the Weald; there were but few manors on it, and it was mostly uninhabited forest.

It must always be remembered in connection with the term "forest" that its use as signifying a great wood is of comparatively modern origin and contrary to its etymological meaning. Up to at least Elizabethan days this term implied a great waste reserved for royal sport and hunting, and often possessed but a mere fringe or small patches of actual woodland, as was the case with the forests of Exmoor, Dartmoor, and the High Peak. It is not, however, to be expected that there would be anything more than incidental allusion to royal forests, or to the possible woods within their limits, in the Great Survey, for they were alive to the chief object of the commission, as royal rights could not be assessed. In one place, namely, under Stoke-by-Guildford, allusion is made to a "king's park," and the term "park" at this period always implied an enclosure used for preserving beasts of the chase. The position of the royal town of Guildford, about half-way on the road from London to Winchester or to the Hampshire ports, made it convenient, as has been remarked by Mr. Round, to have there not only a castle, but a park for the purposes of hunting when breaking their journey at that place. Hawking was then nearly as popular as hunting, and specially in favour with our early kings. The Surrey survey records that there were three eyries of hawks at Limpsfield. It seems a mistake for translators of Domesday to render this expression by the word "nests"; experienced ornithologists are well aware that the ordinary nest of English birds of prey is, as a rule, made afresh

every year, and by no means in the same place. There can be little or no doubt that the eyry of this survey meant an artificial breeding-place for the nurture and training of hawks. Domesday also shows incidentally that there must have been much hunting (almost certainly of a royal character) within the confines of the county. Four huntsmen are named who held lands in Surrey under the Confessor, and two of them, Wulfwine and Chetel, retained their holdings in 1086.

Apart from the considerable park of Guildford, which probably dated back to pre-Conquest times, there is no evidence of any distinctively royal forest grounds, with their special legislation within this county, with the exception of tracts of country on this side of the Thames which were supposed, from early Norman days, to pertain to the great forest of Windsor. That a fairly wide river, such as the Thames, should impose of necessity no bounds to a forest where the chase of the red deer was followed, will excite no surprise in the minds of those who are conversant with the habits of the largest of the indigenous deer of England. Not only do the hunted wild deer of Exmoor take readily to the sea at the present day when pursued, and swim for miles, but they will freely take to fresh water in search of new pasturage apart from all hunting excitement. Thus within the last few years, the keeping of a stock of red deer in the great park at Woodstock has been given up, because they persisted in swimming a wide lake in severe seasons, and destroying young trees, shrubs, and plants in the gardens.

In the twelfth century, Henry II. afforested, that is, placed under strict forest law, the royal manors of Guildford, Woking, Brookwood, and part of Stoke. Eventually he declared the whole county to be forest, a line of action which was also followed with regard to the whole county of Essex. There is no proof, however, that any attempt was made to enforce, by the aid of regularly held courts, a forest administration outside the royal demesne. Nevertheless, this

claim excited such general dissatisfaction, that it came to a head before the days of Magna Charta. Richard I. in his second year, namely, on 4th December 1189, agreed, in return for a fine of 200 marks, to disafforest all within this county which lay to the eastward of the river Wey, and south of Guildford down. This left, as pointed out by Mr. Malden in the *Victoria County History* (vol. i. 357), the parishes and townships of Ash, Bisley, Byfleet, Chobham, Horshill, Pirbright, Pirford, Stoke, Tongham, Windlesham, Woking, and Worplesdon, together with Guildford Park, exempt from the jurisdiction of the sheriff, and subject to forest ministers as forming the Surrey bailiwick of Windsor Forest.

The concession of Richard was apparently set aside by his masterful and unscrupulous successor. King John, in 1205, compelled the county of Surrey to pay 100 marks, and in 1207–8 an additional 500 marks, for securing the confirmation of what his brother had previously undertaken to do. The Great Charter stipulated for the disafforesting of all districts which had been placed under forest law by Henry II. and Richard I., and this ought to have included the greater part of the bailiwick of Surrey. The same principle was yet again affirmed in the Forest Charter of 1217, whereby perambulations were made to determine the true boundaries of such forests as had been formed previous to the coronation of Henry II. in 1154. It was not, however, until 1225–26, that the king's justices entered the formal perambulation of the district on the Surrey side of the Thames, whereby almost the whole of West Surrey was disafforested with the exception of the royal demesne at Guildford.

The ancient abbey of Chertsey had a variety of liberties and rights on the Surrey side of Windsor Forest. William Rufus granted the monks leave to take wood for their own various necessary uses out of the Surrey forests, and to hunt therein both hare and fox. Henry II. in a later charter added general liberty to hunt the wild cat, to take

pheasants, and to hold their four manors of Chertsey, Egham, Thorpe, and Chobham without any interference from forest ministers or forest justices. These latter venison privileges were, however, limited by charters of Richard I. and John.

The pleas of the forest were held at Guildford in 1256, but the earliest eyre within Windsor Forest of which there are any details at the Public Record Office was that held at Guildford on 8th July 1270, before Justices Roger de Clifford, Matthew de Colombieres, Nicholas de Romsey, and Reginald de Acle. It was then presented and proved by the verderers and by twenty-four good men of the town of Guildford and its vicinity, as well as by many sworn townships, that Walter Waleruna, William his brother, and three others who were all dead, as well as Thomas de Bois, a survivor, were all habitual evildoers to the venison of the king and to his conies in Guildford Park; that sometimes they were harboured at the house of Alan de Slyfield, and sometimes at the house of John Atte Hook, who were privy to their offences; and that all these persons, on Whitsunday 1267, took in the park, without warrant, a buck, a doe, and thirteen conies, and that Robert de Ford was their harbourer and privy to it. Ralph, Alan, and John appeared, and were convicted and imprisoned. The sheriff was ordered to produce Thomas and Robert at the court on 18th July. When Thomas de Bois appeared he was imprisoned, but before the pleas were ended he was released on payment of a mark. Ralph, Alan, and John were also released on payment of half a mark. The next presentment was against five persons who entered the same park on 22nd July 1263, with bows and arrows and greyhounds, to do evil to the king's venison. Three of the offenders were dead, and the other two were ordered to attend the court day by day. It was afterwards proved that two more persons of this poaching party had entered the park seven years previously; one of these was then living at Farnborough, and the justice sent an order to the sheriff of Hampshire to arrest him and

keep him safely in prison until the eyre was held at Winchester.

The information as to the agisting of the park, presente at this eyre, is of interest. In 1257 the park was agiste with ten horses and a hundred cattle for eight weeks, fro Hockday to the nativity of St. John Baptist, at a charge 1d. a head. After 24th June there remained on the pa herbage twenty plough-beasts at 3s. 4d. a week. In t same year the park was agisted for 156 pigs, and there w given in the name of pannage for the king every third p or 52 pigs in all, each worth 2s. Particulars, approximat the same, save that there was no pannage, follow on the for the next two years. In 1260 there was no agistment herbage in consequence of the war, but the park was agis with 240 pigs for mast, 4d. being paid for each pig. In 1 and in 1262 the park was not agisted, neither for herb nor pannage. In 1263 there were 100 pigs for mast at a pig. In 1264 there was no agistment for pigs thro lack of mast, but it was agisted for a month with 56 plo beasts. Fifty oaks were felled this year for the king's hc building works at Guildford.

The bounds of the Surrey part of Windsor Forest a eyre, held in 1270, were given as: Through Ham as f Guildford bridge along the bank of the Wey; from G ford bridge along the "Copledecroche" (Hog's Back) a as the "Malloesot" bridge; by the Woodbrook as fa "Brodesford" bridge (Blackwater bridge); and so f the king's highway to Herpsford; and so by the little from Herpsford as far as Chertsey; and so by the T to Ham.

There was a good deal of fickleness shown by J III. and his advisers with regard to the Surrey part forest at the beginning of his reign, as shown by the on the Patent and Close Rolls. On 27th Decemb the recent perambulation of the Surrey forest was co The perambulation began at "Waymuthe," and the the Thames to "Loderlake-Huch," where the three

ey, Berks, and Bucks met, thence to the eastern
of Windsor Park, to the mill of Harpsford, to Thorn-
. and thence to Bridford, where the three counties
y, Berks, and Hants met. This ratification con-
ith the assertion that the whole county of Surrey
out the forest, and was so in the time of Henry,
s great-grandfather.

e same time a mandate was issued to the sheriff to
king's letters patent read in full County Court, the
ion publicly proclaimed, and to cause it to be
but saving to the king forty days from that date
he deer into his forest in places which, according
ambulation, are without the forest. Another man-
like date was issued to the constable of Windsor
se all diligence in chasing all such deer in Surrey
ng's forest within the forty days.

eriff of Surrey was instructed on 15th October
.ke summons for an eyre of forest pleas for that
uildford, on Monday after St. Andrew's Day.

August 1333, the Surrey disafforesting of six
r date, apparently based on hasty and insuffi-
ation, was annulled. Order was then issued to
formation as to the bounds of the Surrey forests
f the late king, and to cause them henceforth to
y the like boundaries, and this notwithstanding
1327; for the king had understood that divers
en spaces in Surrey ought to be afforested, as
ved by divers inquisitions and memoranda in
and that the said wood and places under colour
nt had been disafforested to the king's manifest

justices (Sir John Ratcliffe and Sir Reginald
Guildford on 8th August 1488. The keepers
ho were present were Sir Richard Gray, for
Guildford and Henley; Richard Pigot, for
d William Mitchell, for Bagshot.
Bouchier was the keeper, with Sir William

Norris, lieutenant, and William Orchard, his deputy. One of the foresters was lately dead, but two foresters and one deputy were present. Henry Stokton and William Bandrum, the late verderers, were in attendance, as well as their successors, Henry Slyfeld and John Westbrook.

The regarders numbered eighteen: two of them were described as gentlemen. There were seven woodwards, each of whom returned *omnia bene*. The reeves and four-men of the townships of Ash, Byfleet, Chertsey, Egham, Frimley, Horsell, Pirbright, Thorpe, Windlesham, Woking, and Worplesdon were in attendance, as well as thirteen free tenants.

Among the offences dealt with at this eyre were the cutting down without licence of forty oaks within the forest at Pirbright; killing a great buck at Crowford bridge; the killing of a hind calf with the greyhounds by Thomas Forde of Pirbright, who was one of the foresters of the forest of Windsor; the felling and removing of 400 oaks and 300 beeches by Thomas, Abbot of Chertsey, without licence; killing a stag with greyhounds at Wanburgh; and various instances of shooting at deer, or slaying them with bows and arrows, and setting nets for their capture. Ralph Baggley was fined 100s. for being a common destroyer of pheasants and partridges, and a taker of birds. Another transgressor had slain six pheasants with a hawk.

The reeve and four-men of Chobham presented John Wode for following the craft of a tanner within the forest, and he was fined 12d. They also presented another man for having a warren, and he was mulcted in the like sum.

The following particulars were supplied to the justices respecting the deer of Guildford Park during Henry VII.'s reign:—

"The sum of the dere slayn by our Sovereyn lorde the kynge in the parke of Gylforde att the feste of Seynt Mychaell the fyrste yere of hys Reygne.

Imprimis slayn of dere of Auntyller xvj.
Item the same season lx doys.
Item iij fones.

Item ii prykettes.
Item the same yere my lord Madurface iij doys and a prykett.
Item Syr John Arundell a Doo.
Item Master Bowchere ij Doys.
Item Syr Thomas Mylborne a Dowe.
Item my lady of Lyncolne a Doo.
Item Syr my lord Awdley a Doo.
Item Syr Jamys Awdley ij Doys.
Item ther dyede in moren xli. doys and prykettys.
Item ther dyede the same yere cxxxv of fones.
Item xj dere of Auntuller.
Item the kynge killede in Som xxiij dere of Auntuller.
Item my lord Grey Codnore a Bukke.
Item my lorde Madurface a Bukke.
Item Syr John Arundell a Bukke.
Item Master Bowchere and Syr John Wynfelde a Bukke.
Item the Abbot of Westminster a Bukke."

In the second year of his reign Henry VII. killed in this park, between Michaelmas and All Saints, by his "oon persone," ten does and a fawn. Two does were sent to the king at Westminster on the Feast of All Saints. Six does were sent "To the Coronation of the Quene." Twenty does, eight bucks, and three sores were sent out as gifts during the year.

The sore, or soar, was a buck of the fourth year; it corresponded to the staggard, which was a hart of the same year.

A presentment was also in 1486 made as to the park of Henley-on-the-Heath :—

"THE PARKE OF HENLEY."

"Thees bene the dere that have bene ded in moreyn and that hath bene slayn seyn the begynnyng of the Reigne of the Kinges grase that nowe is Kyng Henry the vijth.

"Fyrst the Kynges grase kylled hymselff in the seyd parke of Henley wyth his Bowe and his bukhundes in the Fyrst yere of his Reigne, iiij bukken.

"Item by his servantes the same tyme the Kyng being in the seid parke, vj male dere.

"Item to the abbot of Westminster the same year j bukke.

"Item sent to the Court by the Kynges Warraunt the fyrst yere of his Reygne in Wynter ij does.

"Item delyvered to the abbot of Westminster the second yere of the Kynges grace—j bukke.

"Item delyvered to my Lord Prynce lyvynge at Farnham, the second year of the kynges grase in wynter iij does.

"Item delyvered to the seid abbot the thyrd yere of the kynges grase j Bukke.

"Thees bene the morens in the seid parke.

"In the fyrst yere of the Kynges grase dyed in moreyn in the seyd parke of Henley—iiij fawyns, j doe and a pryker.

"Item in the second yere folowyng, j pryker, and ij faunes.

"Item in the thyrd yere now last past, a soure and tegge.

"Item now in faunsumtyme dyed in fawnyng, ij does.

"Item delyvered to Master Bourghchyer for ij yere, ij Bukken.

"Item Master John of Stanley killed in the seid parke j Bukke.

"Item my lord of Derby servauntes killed in the seid parke j tegge."

Henry VIII.'s chief sporting companion was William Fitzwilliam, and on him was conferred the keepership of what was still known as the Surrey side of Windsor Forest. Henry was usually only too ready to sacrifice business to pleasure. Towards the end of July 1526, Fitzwilliam writes from Guildford: "I received a packet of letters addressed to the king, which I took to his Majesty immediately; but, as he was going out to have a shot at a stag, he asked me to keep them until the evening." In a letter written by Fitzwilliam to Cromwell in 1534 he stated that he was "in much comfort," as the keepers promised that the king should have great sport, and he asked Cromwell to bring his greyhounds with him when he came to either Chertsey or Guildford.

Towards the close of his life Henry VIII. made the last royal attempt to afforest a new district. He found, however, to his disgust, that there were statute limits to his power in that direction, which even his headstrong will dare not attempt to combat. To afforest any man's estate against his will proved to be impossible, and he therefore had to make private arrangements with various owners to effect his purpose. Now that he had obtained Hampton Court from the cardinal, the king desired to have a nearer hunting-ground than those of either Windsor or Guildford; he therefore resolved to make forest of all the country between

Hampton and his newly-built palace of Nonsuch, near Epsom. On this district he conferred, as far as he was able, forest rights and privileges, calling it the Honor of Hampton Court. On his death, which occurred soon after the importation of a great number of red and fallow deer into this part of Surrey, the newly formed forest came to an end; the district was dechased, and the deer transhipped to Windsor.

From that time onwards there was no attempt anywhere in Surrey at afforesting outside the parks, though it is known from Assize Rolls and other documents that wild deer—strays from Guildford and other parts, or from the Windsor parks across the Thames—were occasionally hunted and killed after an illicit fashion in the Bagshot and Woking districts.

Royal hunting was long maintained within the large park of Oatlands, near Weybridge, which was attached to one of the numerous palaces built by Henry VIII. It was here that Queen Elizabeth delighted to show her interest and still in the chase. It was in this park that a memorable incident occurred, where the extraordinary prowess of the keeper of this park was displayed before her Majesty, an incident so striking that it obtained commemoration on a memorial brass. In the old parish church of Walton-on-Thames is the remarkable mural brass to John Selwyn (engraved in the next article). Selwyn is represented in short jerkin, tight-fitting breeches, and with hunting horn over his left shoulder. He has a handsome face, with pointed beard and moustache, and wears a ruff. Between the effigies of himself and wife is a group of five boys and six girls. Below them is the following inscription:—

"There lyeth ye bodye of John Selwyn first keeper of her Maties parke of Okeland, under ye right honorable Charles Howwarde, Lord Admirall of England, his goode lorde and Mr., who had by Susan, his wyfe, v sons and vj daughters all lyvinge at his death, and departed out of this world the xxijnd daye of March. Anno Domini, 1507."

Above the group of children is a rectangular plate, 7 in

by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., whereon is engraved, after a spirited fashion, the representation of Selwyn, clad as in the upright effigy, riding on the back of a finely antlered stag at full speed, and plunging a short hunting sword into the animal's neck. The genuine old story as to this, set forth with some circumstance in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, narrates that Selwyn, in the heat of the chase, when the Queen was present, suddenly, as he overtook his prey, leaped from his horse on to the back of the stag with amazing agility. He not only maintained his new found seat with graceful ease, but continued to guide the hunted beast towards the Queen, and plunged his great hunting knife into its throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet. A more recent local version of the story states that Selwyn himself was killed by the stag falling upon him, but this bit of embroidery is not credible, for had it happened the fatal ending of the exploit would have been assuredly mentioned on the brass.

It was within the park of Oatlands that James I. bred pheasants, and it was here that Charles I. occasionally hunted the deer. Prince Henry of Oatlands, the latter king's youngest son, was born in the palace. The park was overrun during the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration it was formally disparked, and the great house suffered to fall into ruin.

Charles I., amongst his other unhappy blunders, was induced to try and re-establish the obsolete though unrepealed forest courts, for the avowed reason of thereby trying to raise considerable funds without the intervention of Parliament. In 1632, Noy, the king's Attorney-General, happily styled by Carlyle "that invincible heap of learned rubbish," reintroduced Forest Pleas, and justice-seats were held at Bagshot as well as at Windsor. Every old formality was strictly observed; at the opening of the court each forester (several of whom were only a day old in office) presented his horn on bended knee to the chief justice in eyre, and each woodward did the same with his hatchet; and these insignia of office were not returned until a fine of

half a mark had been rendered. The most wantonly extravagant fines were imposed right and left on all manner of people within the old forest district for both vert and venison offences. This revival of forest jurisdiction in Surrey was bitterly resented by all classes. Men whose fathers and grandfathers had uninterruptedly taken turf, ferns, or gorse from the open heath districts, and had occasionally cut brushwood, suddenly found themselves treated as quasi-criminals, and only able to purge themselves by heavy fines. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that from 1632–42 many of the gentlefolk of Surrey encouraged rather than checked outbreaks of daylight poaching when deer hunting was indulged in by companies of eighty or a hundred. With the advent, however, of the Long Parliament in 1640, all these foolish attempts to restore an obsolete system came to an end. The first proceeding in this direction of the angry Commons was to pass an *Act for the Limitation of Forests*. Writs of inquiry were issued for different parts of the kingdom, and on 7th January 1642 it was decided that the only part of Surrey which could be regarded as belonging to the forest of Windsor was Guildford Park. As, however, in the royal grant of this park to the Earl of Annandale, in 1630, it was expressly declared to be "out of the bounds of any royal forest or chace whatsoever," and consequently the park itself was effectually disafforested, it hence followed that no part whatsoever of this county was forest after 1642.

In connection with parks, apart from those where forest law prevailed, the most important in Surrey was that of Richmond. Here there is known to have been a park of some size and importance in the days of Edward I.; and in all probability it possessed a hunting enclosure from a far older date, for the great manor-house of Sheen was a royal residence from Saxon times. This house was rebuilt by Henry VII. in 1498; he gave to it the name of Richmond, after his earldom in Yorkshire, a name which it has ever since retained. It became a favourite residence of the three

chief Tudor sovereigns, Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth. In Henry VIII.'s time there were two parks, called the Great and the Little Park, and subsequently the Old and New Park. To the New or Great Park Charles I. made great additions, adding thereto portions of both private estates and common lands, as well as wastes owned by the Crown. A commission was appointed in 1634, whose object it was to persuade and if necessary to compel owners to dispose of the land required to the Crown. In 1637 this scheme of enclosure was completed, arousing, it need scarcely be said, bitter resentment. In 1649 Parliament granted this New Park to the citizens of London, but on the restoration the Corporation took time by the forelock, and made a gift of it to Charles II. The area of this park is 2253 ¡acres; it is surrounded by a brick wall eleven miles in length, and it includes parts of the parishes of Mortlake, Petersham, Putney, and Ham. During the long reign of George III. there was much planting done within the limits of this park, the chief trees planted being oak, elm, and beech, with clumps of Scotch fir towards the close of this period. This is not the place in which to write of the great natural beauty and the vistas of woodland scenery in Richmond Park; those who desire to enjoy charming and accurate descriptions of Richmond and the district, accompanied by attractive water-colour sketches, cannot do better than obtain Mrs. Bell's *Royal Manor of Richmond.*

As every lover of Surrey well knows, the chief woodland tract of the county is the Weald, which extends all along the southern fringe of the county. Here the soil always has been, and still is favourable to the growth of oaks; it is not a little remarkable to observe how the oak trees, many of fine growth, form the usual hedgerow timber of the whole of this district, and usually flank the roads and by-roads after the same fashion as the elms do elsewhere.

Surrey had also many splendidly timbered districts on various estates in the centre of the county. From these large drafts were taken during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries for the shipbuilding purposes of our navy.

This county suffered terribly, like most of the other woodland districts of England, from that fearful gale, known as the "Great Storm," which devastated England on November 26–27, 1703. John Evelyn, diarist, naturalist, antiquary, and essayist, of whom Surrey is so naturally proud, wrote thus soon after the hurricane had subsided, which threw down over 2000 of his oaks at Wotton: "Methinks I still hear, sure I am that I still feel, the dismal groans of our forests when that late dreadful hurricane (happening on November 26, 1703) subverted so many thousands of good oaks, prostrating the trees, laying them in ghastly postures, like whole regiments fallen in battle by the sword of the conqueror, and crushing all that grew beneath them. Such was the prospect of many miles in several places."

In another passage Evelyn gives further proof of the formal extent of the woodlands on his property: "In a word to give an instance of what store of woods, and timber of prodigious size, there were growing in our little county of Surrey (with sufficient grief and reluctancy I speak it), my own grandfather had standing at Wotton, and about that estate, timber that now were worth 100,000*l.* Since of what was left by my father (who was a great preserver of wood) there has been 30,000*l.* worth of timber fallen by the axe, and the fury of the late hurricane and storm. Now no more Wotton, stripped and naked, and ashamed almost to own its name."

The preliminary report or survey of the agriculture of the county of Surrey, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture in 1794, contains several interesting items relative to what is now known as "forestry." The planting of the heath lands with Scotch fir or larch was strongly advocated. An instance is set out of recent success in this direction. Twelve acres of Crooksbury Heath were planted in 1776 with Scotch firs of four years old at 4 feet apart, the

Tilford Oak.

ground being in no way prepared. In 1788, when of the average height of 14 feet, they were thinned, producing ninety-six trees, and were worth £5 per acre. The second thinnings were then taking place, with the trees about 40 feet high. The number of trees standing on the twelve acres was 18,531, and they were valued at £573.

As to the Chalk Hills of Surrey, running athwart the county with an average breadth of about five miles, Marshall, in his *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, published in 1798, says: "The species of woodland which prevails on these hills is coppice or underwood, generally having a few oak timber trees scattered among it. . . . And besides extensive woods of the above description the hills of Surrey are more particularly strewed with small plots of coppice, provincially 'shaws,' which at once give shelter to stock, and afford a supply of hurdle and hedge materials; conveniences which every chalk-hill district might profit by, yet which no other than this under review sufficiently possesses." The same writer comments on the barren heath-lands of the north-west of the county, and is confident that they would profitably grow larches and other conifers in many parts.

The finest timber and the largest acreage of woods at the present time are to be found on the estates of the Earl of Lovelace at Horsley, of the Earl of Onslow at Clandon Park, of Viscount Midleton at Peper Harow, of the Duke of Northumberland at Albury, and of Lord Clinton Hope at Deepdene and Betchworth. The finest of the old oak trees still surviving in the county is at Tilford, near Waverley Abbey. It is called the King's Oak, and is popularly supposed to be the one mentioned in a charter of Henry de Blois in the twelfth century as forming a bound of the abbey property; but its age cannot possibly be so great, and it also happens that the abbey bounds were fully half a mile away from the site. This venerable tree has a circumference of 30 feet at 6 feet from the ground. At Addlestone is an ancient tree known as the Crouch Oak, with a girth

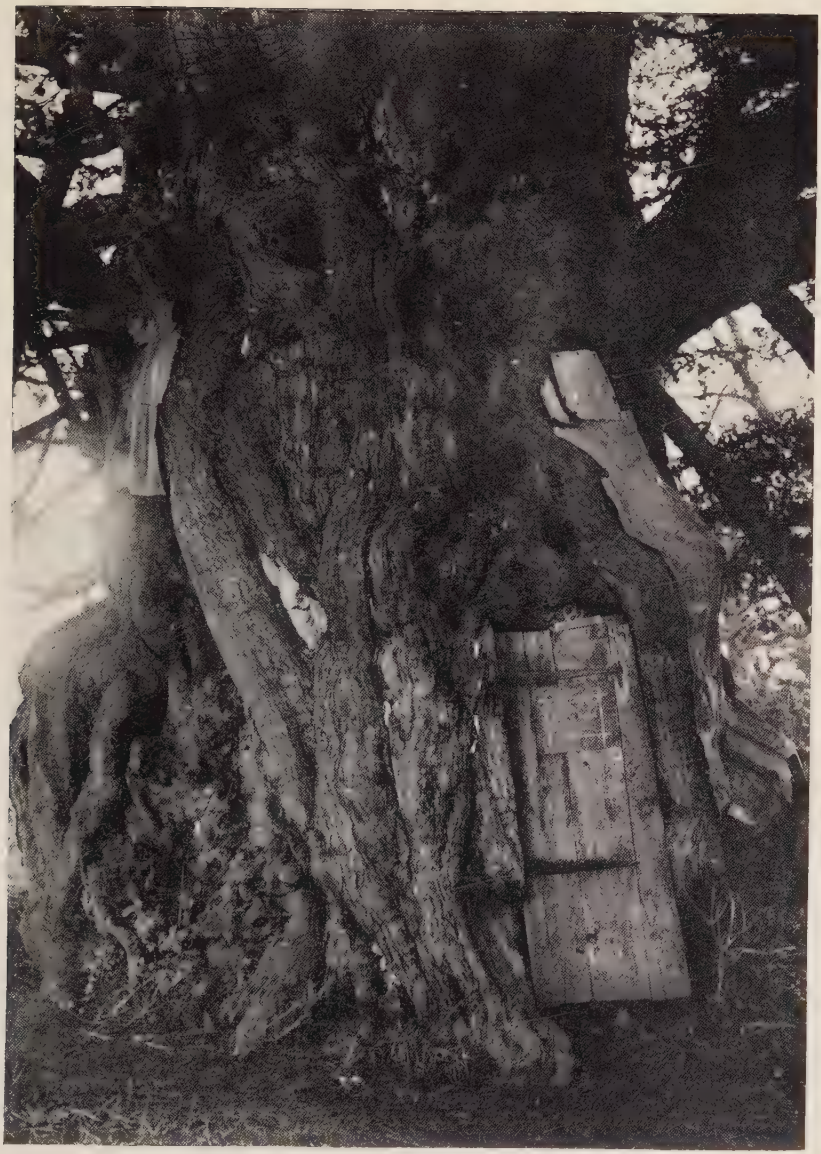
of 24 feet; beneath its shade it is supposed that Queen Elizabeth dined, and Wycliffe preached. About the best grown oak in full vigorous condition which we have noticed in this county stands on Dunsfold Common; its girth is 20 feet at 4 feet 6 inches from the ground.

Surrey can also boast of various fine yew trees.

In Dr. Lowe's work on *The Yew Trees of Great Britain and Ireland* (1897), Surrey takes an honourable place. In his list of notable trees, the following Surrey examples which had at that time a girth of 17 feet and upwards are set forth; the first figures give the girth in feet 3 feet from the ground, and the second figures the diameter in feet of the umbrage. Buxted, 39, 60, and Hambledon (*a*), 39, 40; Crowhurst, 31.8; Old Waltham, 31.3, 64; Tandridge, 30.4, 80; Cherkley Court, 23.4; Wotton, 22, 81; Warlingham, 20, 51; Hambledon (*b*), 17.4, 37; and Addington, 17, 38. In the first of this list there must either have been some great mistake in the measurement, or else the tree has been wrecked. We are assured that the Buxted yew is now about 20 feet in girth. There is always an element of uncertainty in the measuring of aged and irregular yew trees.

The largest of the two yew trees in Hambledon churchyard has a girth of 30 feet 6 inches, according to our recent measurement, and the smaller one 18 feet. Tandridge churchyard yew, though hollow and split, is in splendid vigour, with a girth of 32½ feet and an umbrage of 81 feet. Crowhurst has a like girth, but is sadly dilapidated and clumsily patched. Our measurement of Dunsfold yew, not mentioned by Dr. Lowe, gave a width of 23 feet at 4 feet from the ground. There were also noteworthy large old yews in the churchyards of Cobham, Little Bookham, Sanderstead, Peper Harow, and Burstow (2). Nor should the "Druid's Grove" of Norbury Park be forgotten, where there is a rude avenue of ancient yews.

Notwithstanding all the loss that Surrey has from time to time suffered in its woodlands, it still maintains, as it



Crowhurst Yew.

did at the period of the Domesday Survey, the proud pre-eminence in being, in proportion to its size, the best wooded county in all England. Neither has any other county surpassed it in the steady increase of its woodland area during the past half century. The area of the woods and plantations increased by 11,463 acres between 1881 and 1895; and between 1895 and 1905, when the last statistics of this kind were collected, there was a further increase of 4133 acres. The total woodland acreage now amounts to 58,576. It should also be borne in mind that these figures only apply to woods and plantations of an appreciable size, and are exclusive of the vast number of fine trees which line the hedgerows of Surrey or are of independent growth.

MEMORIAL BRASSES IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY

By F. R. Fairbank, M.D., F.S.A.

ALTHOUGH Surrey cannot boast of so magnificent a collection of brasses as the neighbouring counties of Sussex and Kent, it does possess some of much interest—a few even unique. At Stoke d'Abernon is the oldest brass in the United Kingdom, and with one exception the oldest remaining anywhere. There are altogether less than 150.

Ecclesiastics.—There are figures of clergy in mass vestments at Shere, Cranleigh, Ockham, Lingfield, Cobham, East Horsley, Betchworth, Carshalton, Puttenham, Oxted, Bletchingley, and Streatham. At East Horsley the figure is that of Bishop Bowthe, of Exeter. It is unique in that it is the only figure which shows a back view of the episcopal mass vestments. The dress peculiar to canons of cathedrals and some other dignatories is well shown at Byfleet and Croydon. At Byfleet a canon of Lincoln is represented in cassock, surplice, and almuce of grey fur. This arrangement is not commonly represented in memorials to these clergy. They are more commonly shown wearing those vestments with a silk cope—*cappa serica*—over them, as is the case with a canon of Chichester at Croydon. The almuce has been a puzzle to some writers from their not being aware that there are and were several varieties of the vestment. Some were made of cloth outside, lined with fur inside, while others were made, both outside and in, of different furs. The almuce formed part of "the choir habit." The chalice and wafer are shown on the brasses

of priests at Carshalton, Cobham, and Betchworth. The oldest ecclesiastical brass is that of a priest at Ockham, of date about 1360. It is apparently of foreign workmanship, and is the only one of its kind in the county.

MILITARY BRASSES.—The oldest military brass is that to Sir John d'Abernon the first, at Stoke d'Abernon. It is unique in several respects: it is the oldest; it is the only one in complete chain mail armour with the legs straight down and not crossed; it is also the only one of them which bears a lance. In the same church is also the brass of his son, Sir John d'Abernon the second. This brass is a beautiful illustration of the early stage of mixed chain and plate armour. This figure also shows the peculiar modification of the surcoat, called the cyclas. It resembled the surcoat, but was cut away in front. This also is the only one of its kind in the county. At Lingfield is a very interesting and almost unique illustration of the latest stage of the change from mail to plate. The camail is shown over the shoulders of a figure otherwise in complete plate, and showing that garment in combination with a "skirt of taces." Brasses showing this combination occur also at Theddlethorpe in Lincolnshire, and Wisbech in Cambridgeshire. At Wandsworth and Albury are examples of the skirt of taces without the camail. At Beddington and Albury are good illustrations of early use of tuilles fastened to the lower edge of the skirt of taces. They are large and single, fastened with straps and buckles which are well shown. At Ockham are breastplates with extra plates overlapping the lower part, called demi-placettes. At Crowhurst is a figure with a gorget of metal with a mentoniere covering the chin. The elbow pieces of the same figure are large. At Camberwell is a figure with these pieces of great size. They must have been very much in the way, and anything but a help to the wearer. At Merstham is a skirt of taces with the plates divided vertically, as well as crossways, into small pieces. There are many figures in the county of a late date, showing short skirts of taces, with several tuilles, with a

skirt of mail showing below it. At Merstham the skirt of mail is "vandyked." There are many of this fashion.

LADIES' COSTUMES are well illustrated. The oldest figure of a lady occurs at Lingfield. It shows a lady of the Cobham family, and is very similar to one at Cobham in Kent. She wears the curious "nebulous" head-dress. The head has been "restored," and though it no doubt correctly represents the original, which was fragmentary, it cannot be considered an authority. It was "restored" by Mr. Waller.

The "horned" head-dress is well shown; in its early stages at Horley and Leigh the "cauls" are plain, but at Kingston is a specimen showing them highly decorated—"reticulated." The next fashion, the "butterfly" head-dress, is shown at Ockham, Kingston, and Carshalton. This consisted of two parts. The hair was dragged back off the face into a small "bonnet," and over this was a framework of wire holding out muslin wings.

This was followed by the next fashion, the "pedimental" or "dog-kennel" head-dress. This also consisted of two parts. The bonnet, as before, was retained; and in front of it was a frontlet of velvet arranged in the shape of a gable, with long ends hanging down. In later specimens these ends are often shown turned up and fastened at the side of the face. This fashion lasted some years, and there are numerous instances of it. Much importance was attached to the wearing of it, and a law was passed in 1541 limiting its use to the wives of men who had provided a horse for the king's use. Bequests of these frontlets are of frequent occurrence.

This fashion was followed by the "Paris" or "Mary Queen of Scots" head-dress, which is well known.

Ladies wearing plain mantles are of frequent occurrence. There are two instances of mantles heraldically decorated, at Ewell and Lambeth. Pomanders are shown hanging to the pendant portion of ladies' girdles, at Addington and Mickleham.

Widows, shown in their special dress with plaited barbs,

occur at Stoke d'Abernon and Peper Harow. Maids with their hair hanging down the back occur at Barnes and Bletchingley. Children, or rather sons and daughters, are represented, usually on plates separate from those of their parents. At Stoke d'Abernon they are shown standing in front of the skirt of their widowed mother. At Carshalton one of the sons is represented on a plate separate from the other children; represented as an ecclesiastic with the tonsure, and in academic dress. At Harrow, Middlesex, is another such instance. At Merstham are two interesting illustrations of the dress of young children. One has a handkerchief hung to his waistband. The other is a chrisom child—that is to say, an infant dying before the mother was churched, when it was buried in the chrisom or white cloth of baptism; latterly it appears to have had no special meaning, except that they were young.

Civilians are represented in many places. There are good examples at Beddington, Kingston, Leigh, Mickleham, East Horsley. A small one at Nutfield is inscribed, "Quondam clericus istius ecclesiæ." He is not tonsured, and probably he was merely the "parish clerk."

Collars of distinction are not numerous. There is no instance of the collar or insignia of the Garter. The SS. collar occurs at Oakwood and at Horley; at the latter a lady wears it. The collar of "suns and roses," the distinction of the Yorkists, occurs at Carshalton.

There are several "palimpsest" brasses. At Horley the original inscription under the interesting figure of a lady has been removed, and one of a much later date substituted. At Betchworth a small shield was dug up in the churchyard, bearing on one side the arms of the FitzAdrian family, and on the other a merchant's mark. It is now deposited in the Mediæval Room at the British Museum, having been rescued from private possession, and placed there by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A. It is figured in the official handbook to that room. At Cobham is one bearing a priest holding a chalice and wafer, and on the

other side an armed figure. At Walton-on-Thames is one engraved on both sides with a hunting scene: on one side the engraving is very slight, and it evidently was not considered satisfactory, and the same scene was engraved on the other side in a different manner. At Cheam is a brass made up from parts of several quite distinct brasses. At Camberwell and Sanderstead brass plates bear inscriptions on each side. Where a brass is engraved on both sides, and is of sufficient interest, it is proper for it to be removed from its slab and mounted on a hinge so that each side may be examined. This has been done with that at Cheam.

Brasses bearing scenes of events occur at Cranley—a rough representation of the Resurrection; at Cobham a representation of the Adoration of the Shepherds; and at Walton-on-Thames that above referred to—a hunting achievement of the time of Queen Elizabeth.

At Weybridge is a "memento mori" in the shape of the figures of three skeletons.

At Peper Harow is a plain Latin cross in the floor to a person who is also commemorated by a brass on the wall over an altar tomb, against the north wall of the chancel, which tomb was doubtless used as an Easter sepulchre, where the Eucharist rested from the "Cœna Domini"—Holy Thursday—till Easter Day, when it was removed with a procession to the great altar. At Beddington is a cross with floriated ends.

Canopies over figures occur only at Stoke d'Abernon, Horley, Beddington, Lingfield, and Carshalton. That at Stoke d'Abernon, over the second Sir John d'Abernon, is in a fragmentary state, but the parts missing are faintly shown on the stone. That at Carshalton has a curious finish to the finial; it is a "Pieta," Our Lady with the Dead Christ upon her knee. This is an unusual termination of a finial. Elsewhere figures of the Trinity, and a "pelican in its piety," occur in similar places. A figure of the Trinity on a separate plate occurs at Bletchingley.

Altar tombs bearing brasses on the slab covers have

HERE LIE THE BODIES OF MAVRICE ABBOT & ALICE HIS WIFE, INHABITANTS OF THIS TOWNE OF GVILD = FORD, WHO LIVED TOGETHER MARIED 58. YEARES. & HAD. 6. SONES ALL WHOME THEY LEFT ALIVE. SHEE DYED THE. 15. OF SEPTEMBER. 1606. BEING. 80. YEERE OLD AND HE THE. 25TH. OF THE SAME, MO= NETH AND YEERE BEING OF AGE. 86. YEERES. BOTH IN ASSVRED HOPE OF A IOYFVLL RESVRREC= TION.

THE ABBOT BRASS, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, GUILDFORD, 1606.

been more common than they now are in the county. They still exist at Addington, Beddington, Peper Harow, Carshalton, Crowhurst, Mickleham, and Merstham. The slabs have been removed from them at Croydon, Ewell, Kingston, and Shere, and placed in the pavement, even with it. This is doubtless because they interfered with the services, and the moving from one part to another. That they were felt to be an impediment at the time when it was the fashion to erect them is evident, as instructions were given in some wills, *e.g.* Sir William FitzWilliam of Sprotbro', Yorks, that a memorial should be placed over him, which did not so interfere. Many brasses in the county, as elsewhere, have been removed from their proper slabs and places, and fastened to the walls. This was doubtless with the intention of preserving them, but in most, if not all cases, it was chiefly to make room for florid tiles. It gives a second meaning to the "Hic jacet," and destroys much of the interest of the memorial. To prevent serious injury by wear and tear, here and there, it may be necessary to remove a brass to a different site, but the slab should always be removed with it. Cocoa-nut matting is a source of danger; sand and dirt pass through it, and together they do serious injury, as I have seen.

A tour of inspection of the brasses in the county may be conveniently begun at Guildford, the old capital of Surrey. In the Church of Holy Trinity there is a small quadrangular plate to Maurice Abbot and his wife, who appear to have both died in the same month (Sept. 1606). They are represented kneeling at opposite sides of a desk, with an open book before each of them. He wears a ruffle, and a long gown trimmed somewhat after the fashion of that worn by mayors. His wife also has a ruff, and a large hood drawn well over her head. Beneath this group is a row of six kneeling figures, three one behind the other at each side of a desk, on which also are two open books. The figures represent men with beards. The central one on each side wears an academic gown with a hood hanging

down his back, after the fashion of the modern hood. These represent two of their sons; the third, who was Robert, Bishop of Salisbury; and the fourth, who was George, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Their fifth son was Lord Mayor of London. The figures of the laymen wear the ordinary long gown of the period.

The archbishop and his brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, were both natives of Guildford. The former founded the important hospital in the High Street for a master, twelve men and eight women. He was buried in Holy Trinity Church, where there is a canopied monument to his memory. His effigy upon it is decked in a cap, rochet, and gown. He had a somewhat troublous career, having had the misfortune to kill a keeper while out shooting; he was unpopular with the clergy, bishops elect objecting to be consecrated by him in consequence of that event. He was a Calvinist in doctrine and discipline. He was deprived in 1627, and died in 1633. There is a highly laudatory inscription to his memory, which hardly accords with contemporary opinion. In the west porch of the church is a mural slab bearing a brass plate with the inscription:— "Of yor Charite p'y for the soulis of Henry Norbrige and Alys his wyfe, Chef Fonders of the Chauntreye in this our Lady Chapell: which Henry decesyd the viii day of Dece'ber in the yere of our Lord MVcXII. (1512). On whos soules J'hu have mercy." The church was rebuilt in the middle of the eighteenth century, after the fall of the tower.

In the church at Compton there is a brass to a man and his wife, 1508. The lady wears a pedimental or "dog-kennel" head-dress. This church is unique in that there is a chantry chapel over the east end of the chancel, which is open to it. Formerly there was an external entrance to the chapel. It is of late Norman date.

At Godalming there are two brasses: one to a man and his wife, 1509; the other to John Barker, Esquire, 1595,

in armour. At Puttenham there is a priest in mass vestments, rector 1431. In the almhouses at Peasmarsh is a quadrangular plate to Richard Wyatt the founder, 1619, of the usual type of that period. He and his wife kneel at a table with their sons and daughters between them; the head-dress of the ladies resembles those at Holy Trinity, Guildford, and Long Ditton. At Peper Harow are two brasses to one lady, Dame Joan Addirley. One is on an altar tomb against the north wall of the chancel, and the other is on a slab before the altar. The former represents her in widow's weeds with a plaited barb extending over her chin. She is kneeling at a desk on which is an open book, and a rosary hangs from her hands, which are joined in prayer. The brass is not lying on the covering stone, but is fastened to the wall above it. The brass on the slab in the floor doubtless marks the place where her body rests, for in her will she directs her body to be buried in the church of Peper Harow before the high altar, to which altar she leaves twenty shillings. This brass is a plain Latin cross, with the arms "slipped" at the ends. There is a small shield at each upper corner of the stone: the bearings on one are quite illegible; the other bears, 1 and 4 sable, a lion rampant or (Brocas); 2 and 3 are defaced.

The inscription in Latin on the altar tomb is: "Of your charity pray ye for the soul of Johanna Addirley, formerly wife of John Addirley, formerly mayor of the City of London, and lately wife of William Brokes (Brocas), armiger, Patron of this church. Which Johanna died xviii day of November, A.D. MCCCCLXXXVII. On whose soul may God have mercy." That on the slab in the floor, also in Latin, is: "Here lies Johanna Addirley, lately wife of William Brokes, armiger, on whose soul may God have mercy, Amen." This is not the only instance in the county where a woman, after the death of a second husband, is commemorated in the name of the first.

At Witley is a brass to John Jonys, a sewer of the chamber to Henry VIII., his wife, and two sons, 1525.

In Cranleigh Church are several portions of brasses, which found their way into a London auction room, where they were fortunately rescued, and have been replaced. The first is a small late one, of a priest in mass vestments; a half-length figure with two scrolls proceeding from his mouth, bearing inscription. The second is a small irregular shaped plate, roughly engraved with a representation of the Resurrection of our Lord. He is stepping out of the tomb, holding in His left hand a cross staff with a pennon attached, bearing a cross upon it. A soldier is asleep at each corner of the tomb in early sixteenth century armour. A reference to Aubrey shows that this plate adorned the tomb of Robert Hardyng, alderman and goldsmith of the city of London, and his wife. A portion of the plate bearing the inscription has been recovered and replaced. The inscription runs thus (in English): "Of your charite pray for the soulys of Rob . . . whos bodye here lyeth beryed. And depart . . . God M.CCCCC. and IV. for whos sowlys . . ." The ground is cut away and the lettering is in relief. His wife also was commemorated. There is also a small shield bearing, on a bend, 3 drakes. The charge is in relief.

Cranleigh.

In Oakwood Chapel is a very nice and interesting little brass, which is well worth a visit. It is almost the only brass in the county which exhibits the armour of its own date, 1431. It is to the memory of Edward de la Hale. It is on the north side of the east end of the chancel; and is under the wood floor, a portion of which can be removed to

OAKWOOD: EDWARD DE LA HALES, ESQ., 1431.

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view it. It is in fine preservation, and exhibits a suit of complete plate armour, with gorget of plate. He has *epaulieres*, small roundels at the armpits, small fan-shaped elbow pieces; a skirt of taces which run straight across; there are small square plates below the genouillieres; his sword hangs straight by his left side, suspended to a plain belt which passes diagonally across the skirt of taces. A misericorde is hung on the left side, passing behind the body. He wears a collar of SS. round his neck, of the strap variety, the badge of the House of Lancaster. A short scroll proceeds from his mouth, inscribed "I.H.U. mercy." He stands on a lion. The inscription plate is reversed so that it can be read by any one standing at the head of the figure. It reads: "Hic jacet Edwardus de la Hale, armig de Com. Surr. qui obiit VIII. die mensis Septembr. Anno Dni. Mill'mo CCCCXXXI. Cujus anime Deus miseretur. Amen." He endowed the chantry chapel with £200 per annum. The only other brass with similar armour is at Wandsworth.

At Albury, in the ancient church in the park of the Duke of Northumberland, is a nice little brass of a rather later style of armour. It is in the floor on a blue stone slab between two pillars of the arcade on the north side of the nave. It is to the memory of John Weston, of Weston, armiger, 1440. He is in complete plate; the figure is perfect from the mouth downwards; the upper part of the head is gone, but the matrix shows the form of the helmet. There is a moton on the right shoulder, and an epaulier on the left. The elbow pieces are moderate in size, and dissimilar. The pieces of the skirt of taces are curved upwards in the central line; to the lower edge of the skirt two broad tuilles hang by two straps each. The hilt of the sword remains vertically by the left side. The spurs are long and straight; there is no misericorde. He stands on grass decorated with flowering plants. In the upper part of the stone above the figure is the matrix of a shield in a slanting position, having a helmet above it.

At Shere there are several brasses. In the chancel in the centre before the sacrarium is a beautiful little memorial to Edward Scarcliff, rector, 1412. He is represented in mass vestments. The chasuble is quite plain, and falls in graceful folds. The apparels of the alb at the wrists are small squares. The hair is long. His will is preserved: he directs that his coffin shall be covered with twenty-four yards of black cloth, to be afterwards given to poor parishioners to pray for his soul. He also left a picture in four parts, representing the Trinity, the Blessed Mary, and St. Christopher, for Shere Church. Lying west of this is a large slab of stone, formerly the cover of an altar tomb, bearing the figure of an old man in armour: to the memory of Sir John Touchet, Lord Audeley, who died in 1491. The brass was engraved about 1525. He is bareheaded, and his hair is long. His head rests on a small helmet; there is a chain round his neck, to which hangs a "tau" cross; a similar chain crosses the shoulders. There are no gloves; the elbow pieces are small; there is a skirt of taces with one of chain mail underneath; the taces are bowed and divided in the centre; four tuilles hang from the last tace but one. A misericorde hangs on the right side, passing behind the body; his sword crosses behind. The legs and sword from below the skirt of mail are gone, but the matrix shows their form. Portions of the inscription plate, which went round the verge, are fastened to the sill of the window in the transept. The son of this Lord Audeley was beheaded in 1497. The family honours were restored to his grandson in 1512. Haines speaks of other brasses besides these: to Oliver Sandes and his wife Jone (effigy lost), "Ye which made this wyndow and this auter;" Small, 1512; John Redford, 1516, and wife, with four sons and two daughters; Small, south aisle. Since his time these have been much disturbed. In a small recess made for it, in the east wall of the south aisle, is the figure of a girl with her hair down her back. There is nothing to identify her, but she was probably one of the two daughters of John

East Horsley: John Bowthe, Bishop of Exeter, 1473.

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Redford mentioned above. On the sill of the window of the transept is also a much worn small figure of a civilian in long gown, with gypciere hanging to his right side; this is doubtless one of the men mentioned above.

At East Horsley there are several brasses. On the north wall of the chancel there is a memorial to Bishop Bowthe of Exeter. It consists of three brass plates, which were removed from a blue stone slab in the floor of the chancel. They are crowded together in a ridiculous fashion. One plate bears a figure of the bishop kneeling in prayer; another, underneath, bears the inscription; and the third, a shield of his arms. They are so arranged that he appears to be praying to his shield. The bishop is represented in episcopal mass vestments, mitred, and holding his crosier under his left arm. It is a beautiful little figure, and is unique in that it shows him in profile, and so the back of the mitre with the infulæ are seen, and the back of the chasuble also. Only one tunicle or dalmatic, as those vestments were spoken of in his day, is shown. The crosier is a very fine one. The inscription plate bears the legend:—

Quisque eris qui transieris, sta, plege, plora!
Sum quod eris, fueram quod es: pro me precor ora.
Hic jacet Johannes Bowthe quondam episcopus
Exoniensis qui obiit 5 die mensis Aprilis A.D. 1478.

The shield bears the Bowthe arms: three boars heads erect, erased, 2 and 1 (*argent, three boars heads erect, erased, sable*).

In the plate of this brass the figure and the inscription are placed, as they no doubt were on the memorial slab. The first part of the inscription occurs in many other places; it was a favourite form.

The Bishops of Exeter had a residence at East Horsley, which will probably account for this burial and inscription here. In 1324 a licence was granted by Edward II. to Roger Berners to alienate in mortmain thirty acres of land in East Horsley, and twenty marks of rent issuing from the

manor of West Horsley to Walter de Stapelden, Bishop of Exeter (*Patent Rolls*).

The matrix of a brass representing William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin, in a similar position, holding a cross staff, remains in the Rokeby Chapel in Kirk Sandal Church, Yorkshire, but the brass is gone.

In East Horsley Church there is also a good half-length brass of a civilian, believed to represent a near relative of Bishop Robert de Brantyngham, of Exeter, 1370–94; he is in civilian costume. There are also some other small civilian figures.

In the neighbouring church of Great Bookham there are some brasses to members of the Slyfield family; as brasses they have no special interest. There is also one to Robt. Shiers, Esq., of the Inner Temple, 1660. He is in a student's gown, and carries a book in his hand. At Send, also, there is a small brass to a member of the Slyfield family and his wife and sons, in civilian dress of the period, 1521.

At Mickleham there is a brass to the patron of the church, in civilian costume, and his wife, which has several points of interest. It commemorates William Wyddowsonn, a mercer of London, who died 1514. They are at separate desks, on each of which lies an open book. He is in a long furred gown, and has a cap with a scarf attached to it thrown over his right shoulder. His wife has a pedimental head-dress, and to her waistbelt hang short chains to which is attached a pomander; also there hangs from her belt a rosary. The inscription plate is underneath the figures, and between them is a small shield bearing within a flowing border the crowned head and shoulders of a maid with hair down her back, the arms of the Mercers' Company. The brass is fastened to the north wall of the north chancel, over an altar tomb, which probably, from its position, was used as an Easter sepulchre.

At Leatherhead are fragments of a civilian, wife, and family, about 1470, but they have no special interest.

Stoke d'Abernon is the Mecca of students of brasses.

STOKE D'ABERNON: SIR JOHN D'ABERNOUN, 1327.

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Here are two of the most interesting specimens known to exist. One, that of Sir John d'Abernoun, senior, 1277, is the oldest brass in England, and with one exception abroad is the oldest now remaining. He is represented in complete mail armour; the only parts not of that character are the genouillieres, which were apparently of cuir bouille. The figure is so well known that little need be said about it. He carries a small heater-shaped shield, which bears the D'Abernoun arms: azure, a chevron or. The enamel of the "field" remains, which is remarkable, considering its age. Under his right arm he supports a lance, bearing a pennon adorned with his arms. The hands are covered with mail; the headpiece, coif de maile, is held in position by a band of steel or leather across the forehead. Over his mail suit he wears a surcoat, which reaches nearly to the ankles. His sword is hung by a sabretache to his girdle, which is quite loose round the waist. He has prick spurs, and he stands on a lion, which holds the end of the spear between his teeth. In the dexter corner of the slab is a small shield bearing his arms; one in the sinister corner has gone. Round the margin of the slab is an inscription in Longobardic characters, which is much defaced. The drawing of the figure is out of proportion, but the engraving is very sharp and clear; indeed, in looking at it, it is difficult to believe that it is the age it is known to be.

The second brass is that of his son, Sir John d'Abernoun II., 1327. The difference in the armour between the two is very great. There is a mixture of mail and plate armour. The mail is quite different from that of No. 1. It is what is called the "banded" variety. He wears a basinet on his head, to the lower edge of which is laced the camail, a covering for the neck and shoulders, separate from the hauberk or shirt of mail; the arms and forearms were protected under the sleeve of the hauberk with plates. Under the hauberk was the haketon, a padded garment to ease the pressure of the hauberk; over the hauberk came another padded garment, the gambeson; then came the

cyclas or surcoat so altered as to appear almost a different garment. It was long behind but cut away in front. There were roundels of iron to protect the shoulders and elbows, and plates, jambs, to protect the legs; genouillieres to protect the knees, and sollerets to cover the feet. All these parts are well shown on this brass.

Besides these figures of knights there is a brass to a widow lady. It has been torn from its slab, and is now fixed to the Norbury tomb. She was the wife of Sir Henry Norbury, Kt., and died Oct. 12, 1464. She is represented in the usual widow's dress. The brass is interesting, especially because her eight children are engraved across the lower part of her skirt—four sons on the dexter side, and four daughters on the sinister. This arrangement is very unusual. There is at Ditchingham, in Norfolk, a somewhat similar arrangement on the brass of Margory Bosard, 1490. At Trotton, a son is engraved on the skirt of Lady Camoys, 1419.

On another part of the same tomb is the brass of a chrisom child. These figures are not common. In this case the child is marked with a cross on its forehead.

On the wall of the chancel is a square plate to Thomas Lyfelde and his wife and daughter, with a genealogical inscription.

There is also a shield in the chancel, bearing the D'Abernoun arms, with a label of four points to Sir Will. d'Abernoun, son of the second Sir John. He was the last male representative of the family.

At Cobham is a curious little brass 6 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, bearing a rude representation of "The Adoration of the Shepherds." The virgin is lying on a low bed in the middle foreground; an absurdly large figure of Joseph stands at the head, on the left, and three shepherds stand at the foot, on the right; one of them carries a crook. Behind and adjoining the bed is a cot containing the Child, and behind that are a cow and a horse with their heads over the cot, or "manger"; and behind all is the roof of a

farm building. The date of it is about 1500. There is also a brass engraved on both sides, fastened so that both can be seen. It is a palimpsest. On one side is the figure of a priest, holding a chalice and wafer, about 1510. On the other, the figure of a man in armour, about 1550. At Ockham is a half-length figure of Walter Frelonde, rector, 1360, in mass vestments. This is the oldest clerical brass in the county. It is apparently of foreign workmanship. It is carefully drawn and engraved, but the proportions of the figure are not correct. The hair is long, entirely hiding the ears; the shaving of the face is indicated by dots. The collar of the amice is loose, and lies flat on the neck and shoulders: it is decorated with the curious "Fylfot" ornament. There is a Y-shaped orphrey on the chasuble, which also has a neat ornamental border. The apparels of the alb do not encircle the wrists. There is also a brass which has been removed and fixed to the wall of the chancel, to John Weston, Esq., 1483, and his wife. He is in armour; the breastplate is strengthened by demi-placcates; the skirt of taces is short, and the tuilles are small. His wife wears the "butterfly" head-dress.

Ockham: Walter Frilonde, *c.* 1360; Collar of Amice.

At Horsell is a brass to Thomas Hutton, gentleman, 1603, aged 38. The inscription ends with the words: "Gentle reader, deface not this stone." Also there is one to Thomas Edmonds, citizen and carpenter, of London, his wife and sons and daughters. The arms of the city of London and also those of the Carpenters' Company are shown.

At Byfleet is one of the most interesting of the clerical brasses. It commemorates Thomas Teylar, Rector of Biflete, and one of the canons of the Cathedral Church

of Lincoln. It has been removed and fixed to the north side of the chancel. He is represented in the almuce of the major canons, with surplice and cassock. The "Novum Registrum" of Lincoln has the following: —

De Canonicorum habitu.

"Intrantes vero chorum superpellicea alba de lineo, almicias de griseo, ac capas de nigro panno laneo . . . induantur."

And Ducange gives:—

"Statuta ecclesiæ viennensis apud, Joan. Le Lievre. Cap. 26, de Canonicis.

"A festo S. Martini usque ad Pascha portabunt capas nigras super pellicium; et a Pascha usque ad festum omnium sanctorum portabunt superpellicium sine capa, et in capite capellam de griso, quem vulgariter almuciam vocant."

The almuce was variously made, according to the status of the wearer. The greater canons wore them made of grey fur. The minor canons of St. Paul's, London, wore the "amictus de variis minutis, internis; et de calabro nigro externis," *i.e.* lined with miniver, and black fur of Calabria outside. This fur was spoken of as Calaber, and those who wore it as "Calabers," thus—

1540. Item the iij day of June . . . all the grey ammesse with the calober in Pawlles were put down.—*Register of the Grey Friars, London.*

The sub-dean of St. Paul's, who was one of the minor canons, wore the "almucio de griso," the same as the major canons. The Account Rolls of the Cathedral and Priory of Durham contain an entry of the date 1377:

Amows de Gray et menever for the Prior 20s.

Other dignitaries besides the cathedral canons wore the almuce de griseo. At Salisbury the vicars choral were ordered to wear them made "non minuto vel grisso vario aut grisso, sed pellibus duntaxat agminis aut capricis sub panno nigro." That is, not of miniver, or ermine, or grey fox, but of skins of the lamb or goat under black cloth. The almucium was a head covering which covered the

Byfleet: Thomas Teylar, Rector and Canon of Lincoln, 148—.

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shoulders also; a part of it formed a hood which could be drawn up over the head, or thrown back over the shoulders. It was introduced during the thirteenth century, as it was found necessary to protect the clergy and the regulars from the cold during the long hours, night and day, they were engaged in the services of the church and monasteries. The need for this is stated in the "Indults" granted to the various monasteries for their use. Thus: Worcester, 1289. Nicholas IV. Faculty to the Prior and Chapter of Worcester to wear caps—pileis, or amises, not curiously cut, but suited to their order, in divine offices and processions—the cold of those parts being hurtful to them if bareheaded.[1]

Southwick, Dioc. Winchester, same date. Faculty to the Prior and Convent to wear caps or amises, which are to be removed at the Gospel and Elevation.[2]

The silk cope, which was worn in processions and at certain times in the church over the almuce, is usually so represented on brasses to canons, as is the case with that at Croydon to a canon of Chichester.

Much more might be written on the subject, but this much is sufficient to explain the use and appearance of the vestment, and to correct errors of description met with occasionally. This brass is in perfect preservation, and it is a pity it has been removed from its own proper slab. The date of his death has not been completely filled in. It runs: "Obiit . . . dies mensis . . . anno dni millio CCCCLXXX. . . ."

The figure on next page, copied from a print, gives a correct representation of the almuce when drawn over the head. The tails of the animals whose skins form the vestment are fastened along its lower edge as an ornament. Ladies have been recently wearing sable capes which are almost an exact copy of the later forms of the almuce.

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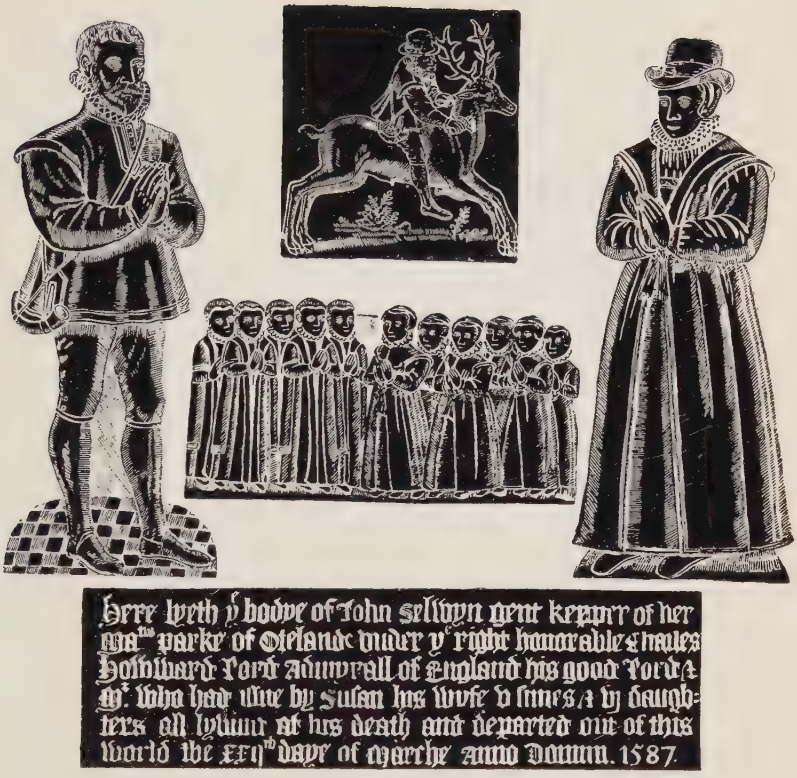
[1] *Cal. Papal Letters*, vol. i. p. 501.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 533.

At Weybridge are three brasses. The first, dated 1586, to Thomas Inwood, yeoman, and his three wives and children; the second to John Woulde, gent., 1598, and his two wives; and the third represents three skeletons. The original inscription is gone, and a later one has been added. If these skeletons are intended to represent a man and his two wives, it is a singular circumstance that each of the brasses commemorate men who had been so unfortunate as to lose their wives. The last figures may represent "the three deaths."

The "Amys de Grys."
From a print, Paris, 1666.

At Walton-on-Thames there is a brass which, although not important as a work of art, is curious and interesting in its way. It records a circumstance which actually occurred during the lifetime of the persons commemorated. It is to the memory of John Selwyn, gent. keeper of the Her Matis Parke of Oteland under ye Hon. Chas. Howard, Ld. Adm. of England, 1581, and his wife Susan, with their sons and daughters. It has had a curious history, for it was dug up in the south aisle. It is now on a board in the chancel. There are figures of John and his wife, one on each side. He has a hunting horn under his right arm, slung over his left shoulder. His wife wears a hat like the modern "bowler." He stands on a chessboard ground, but his wife stands on a plain one. The inscription is on a separate plate below. There are also plates representing the sons and daughters. Between the principal


Here lyeth ye bodye of John sellwyn gent kepper of her
matie parke of Otelande vnder ye right honorable & hales
Holiward Lord Admyrall of England his good Lorde &
mr. who had wife by Susan his wyfe 6 sones & 6 daugh-
ters all lyvinge at his death and departed out of this
world the xxijth daye of Marche Anno Domini. 1587.

WALTON-ON-THAMES: JOHN SELWYN, GENT., 1587.

WANDSWORTH
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figures is a plate 7½ in. by 8 bearing a curious hunting scene. It is thus described: "Queen Elizabeth was at Oatlands, and during a hunt John Selwyn in the heat of the chase suddenly leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag (a red deer), and not only kept his seat gracefully, in spite of every effort of the affrighted beast, but drawing his sword, with it guided him towards the Queen, and coming near her presence plunged it in his throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet." The body of the animal is that of a horse, and not of a stag; the head and horns are very well executed. This plate is engraved on both sides: on the reverse side it is lightly engraved with a variant of the same scene, which is not nearly so spirited; it was not approved, and the completed engraving was executed.

At Thames Ditton and Long Ditton are several sixteenth and seventeenth century brasses. They do not require special notice.

At Thorpe, near Chertsey, are two sixteenth century brasses; one of them bears the arms of the Goldsmiths' Company.

At Barnes is a nice little brass bearing figures of two young ladies with their hair long and hanging down their backs.

At Putney are two brasses, one dated 1478, showing a man in armour; the breastplate is somewhat globular, and is supported with demi-placcates. At Richmond is a brass to Mr. Robt. Cotton, "an officer of the remooving wardroppe of beds to Queen Mary;" also a groom of the privy chamber to Queen Elizabeth, with sons and daughters, 1580. It is on the wall in the chancel.

At Kingston-on-Thames are two brass memorials. The first to Robert Skern, 1437, and his wife. He is in civilian dress, with large full sleeves, tightened at the wrists. He has an anelace, which is partly covered by a sleeve. His wife wears a fine specimen of the "horned" head-dress; her hair is gathered into beautifully ornamented cauls; she

has a chain round her neck to which hangs a rosette. Her mantle is fastened by two rosettes, all of which are highly ornamented *en suite*. Her head and shoulders are figured in Haines, i. p. 208. She has a tight-fitting kirtle only, and no over-gown. She is believed to have been the daughter of Alice Perrers, mistress of Edward III. This was once an altar tomb. The inscription is inverted at the foot. The second brass is now fixed to the wall of the north transept. It is to John Hertcombe, gent., 1488, and his wife, 1477. He is in civilian dress; the head is gone. His wife wears a "butterfly" head-dress—the bonnet is quite plain, and the wings are small; she has collar and cuffs of fur. Above the figures is the matrix of Our Lord seated on a rainbow.

When Croydon Church was burned in Jan. 1867, many of the brasses which then existed were destroyed. What remain in the new building are as follows:—

1. Gabriel S. Wester, Rector of Wyberton, Linc., of Folkington, Sussex, and a Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral. He died in 1512. He is represented in canon's dress—a cassock, surplice, almuce de gris, and silk cope. See notes on the canon's brass at Byfleet.

2. William Heron, 1562, in armour. He stands on grass decorated with flowers, and he has a small helmet under his head, as though he were lying down. He is bareheaded, and has a long beard and moustache. His skirt of taces is short, with one large pointed tuille over each thigh. A long skirt of mail hangs below the taces; it is vandyked at the lower edge. There are large plates behind the knees. His hands are bare. The upper part of the figure of his wife remains, as far as the waist and elbows; she wears a "Paris" cap, with veil pendant behind. Her sleeves are puffed and slashed at the shoulders. He has a small ruff round his neck, and frills at the wrists. The inscription ends with the prayer, "Whose soule God take to hys mercy, Amen." This brass was not in the church at the time of the fire, but had been, and was in

private possession. It has since been restored to the church through the interest of Mr. Waller, Rev. C. F. Creeny, F.S.A., and Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A. A brass very similar to this, of a rather earlier date, 1544, to Thos. Heron, Esq., and his wife, was destroyed, but a plate representing seven of their daughters and also two shields are preserved in the church. Outlines of the brasses existing before the fire are given in Anderson's *Croydon Church.*

At Beddington there are several interesting brasses. One to Philippa Carrew, 1414. Her hair is fastened by a jewelled fillet. She is in a kirtle and over-gown, but without a mantle. The cuffs of the kirtle reach to the knuckles; the over-gown has a large stiff collar and deep sleeves. Below are the half-length effigies of thirteen brothers and sisters, with the names under them. There is a large brass in the chancel before the altar on a black marble slab, 9 feet by 4 feet, with a canopy to Nicholas Carrew, Esq., and his wife, 1432. He is not in armour. He was lord of the manor, and is described as "senex et plenus dierum," and the inscription commences with "In gracia et misericordia dei hic jacent corpora," &c., which is unusual. He has bag sleeves, tight at the wrists; his wife has a horned head-dress. There is a plate of this brass in the *Portfolio of the Monumental Brass Society*, ii. part 12. He has a greyhound at his feet, and his wife a little snub-nosed dog with a curled tail. The waist of her gown is just under the breasts. Her sleeves are similar in shape to those of her husband. The inscription is on a strip of brass round the margin, with a shield at each corner, bearing emblems of the Evangelists; the dexter top corner one is gone. The canopy is double, and there are three shields of arms between the canopy and the border, two above and one below; one of the lower ones is gone. The two dexter shields bear three lions passant guardant: the sinister, the same impaling two griffins. A shield similar to the last is pendant at the junction of the two canopies.

There is also another brass in the chancel to a civilian

and his wife, 1430; the inscription is lost. A brass to Roger Elmsbrygge, Esq., 1437, "Cui Rex concessit Surr. Suss. com.," is a good illustration of the early use of tuilles buckled to the skirt of taces. The gauntlets are not divided for the fingers, their cuffs are pointed; the genouillieres have pointed plates below them. There is also an altar tomb of date 1520 to Sir Richard (Carew) and his wife, but the effigies are lost, and only part of the marginal inscription remains. There is a small square brass in the nave to members of the Berecroft family. And there is a small inlaid brass cross, with the ends of the arms fleury, to Margt. Oliver, 1425, servant to Nicholas Carrew and his wife.

At Carshalton is an altar tomb of marble to Nicholas Gaynesford, Esq., and his wife, with their four sons, the second of whom is a priest; a plate of four daughters is lost. He was esquire for the body of Edward IV. and Henry VII., and his wife was one of the gentlewomen of the two queens, Elizabeth, their wives. They wear the collars of suns and roses, the badge of the house of York, as that of SS. was of that of Lancaster. He is kneeling and in armour; his gauntlets and drawn sword are on the ground at his feet. His wife wears a "butterfly" head-dress—the bonnet is decorated with network, and the wings are large. The date of death is not filled in in the inscription. The small figure of the priest among the sons is noticeable. At Harrow on the Hill there is such a figure on a plate separate from the other "children"; he is in university dress with a tonsure: also there are two on the Abbot brass at Guildford. In Carshalton Church there is also a canopy remaining of a brass to Thos. Ellenbridge, Esq., his wife and three sons. The effigies and inscription are gone. He was Hostiarius to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. The finial of the canopy terminates in a "picta." In the north aisle is a brass to Joan, wife of Hy. Buxton, Esq., 1524. There is also the upper part of an effigy to Walter Gaynesford, Chaplain, 1493; he holds a chalice and wafer.

At Cheam are two curiosities. The first is a small brass only 6¾ inches high, to John Yerde, 1449, in armour, engraved about 1420. He has a collar round his neck. There is also a shield of arms, Courtenay impaling Yerde; this is a palimpsest; on the reverse is a merchant's mark. There was originally also a figure of his wife, 1453, but that has been lost. His figure has been removed from the original slab. There is also another palimpsest in the church to Thomas Fromonde, Esq., 1542, his wife and sons and daughters. He is not in armour. The brass is mounted on a hinge so that both sides may be seen. On the reverse side of the male figure is the lower part of a female kneeling at a desk; on the reverse of the wife's the lower part of a civilian also kneeling, with a rosary; the reverse of the sons, a part of a canopy with upper part of a figure of S. John Evang. holding a chalice. The reverse of the daughters, a few engraved lines only. The plate bearing a figure of the Trinity bears on the reverse a heart held by two hands, inscribed "I. H. C., est amor me"; over the heart is a scroll inscribed "Libera me dn̄e de morte"; at the angles, "I love m̄cy̅." The inscription bears at the back a figure in a shroud. These are all of date about 1500. The shield bears on the back the arms of the see of Lincoln about 1420. The wife has a pedimental head-dress, with the lappets turned up at the sides. In the south aisle is part of the figure of a civilian about 1370. In the nave are the half effigies of a man and his wife, 1450–58.

At Ewell is an important brass to Lady Jane Iwarby, 1519. She is in a heraldic mantle. This was formerly part of an altar tomb. It is in the chancel. She is kneeling, and has a pedimental head-dress. This and that at Lambeth are the only instances of heraldic mantles remaining in the county. In the nave is another figure of a lady with a similar head-dress. And there also is the figure of a lady with the "Paris" head-dress. At Farley is a small brass to John Brock, citizen of London, 1495, wife and family, in the chancel. He was Sheriff of London in 1489.

At Betchworth is a late brass of a priest removed from its slab and fastened to the wall on the north side of the sacrarium. It is to William Wadysworth, vicar of the parish, who died January 5, 1535. The engraving is deep and sharp, but the drawing is unequal. He is in mass vestments, and holds a chalice with a wafer over it. The chalice and wafer and the hands are well drawn, but the rest of the figure is very poor indeed. It gives the impression that the master drew the chalice and hands as the most important part of the composition, and that an apprentice drew the rest. A small palimpsest shield which was found in the churchyard is now preserved, as has been stated, in the British Museum.

At Leigh are three brasses to members of the Arderne family. The best is to John Arderne, his wife and children. He is in civilian dress, 1440–50. He wears a cloak which is fastened over the right shoulder; he has a hood which encircles his neck; he stands on a greyhound. His wife has a "horned" head-dress, and wears a plain mantle over a tight-fitting kirtle. She has a veil thrown over her head, which hangs down behind. There is a little dog at her feet. At the dexter corner is a shield bearing the Arderne arms. Below is a shield Arderne, impaling a quartered shield, the arms of which have not been identified. It is unusual for a simple civilian to be represented in a cloak as here.

At Charlwood is a brass to a member of the Sander family, 1553, his wife and their children. They kneel at separate desks facing each other. He is bareheaded and in armour, and his wife wears the "pedimental" head-dress; each has an inscribed label proceeding from the mouth; four sons kneel behind the father, and six daughters behind the mother. A shield at the dexter corner bears the arms of Sander and Carew, quarterly; in the sinister corner a shield bearing the arms of Hungate of Yorkshire; and between the two a lozenge bearing a wreath, and within it the Sander crest.

Thomas Johnes & Henricus filius Johnes
Arderne Armigi & Elizabeth Uxis Sue
Anna Virgina & Susanna filie Johnes
Arderne Armigi & Elizabeth Uxis Sue

Leigh: John Arderne, Esq., and Wife, 1440.

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At Horley is an important brass. It is in the north aisle; there is a canopy, about 1420. It is to a lady, unknown, for the original inscription has been removed and one of 1516 substituted. The composition is very elegant; she wears a "horned" head-dress, with a veil looped up; her over-gown has a high waist and full sleeves; she wears a collar of SS. A small figure stood at her right side, but this has been lost. A good picture of this important brass is given in the *Portfolio of the Monumental Brass Society*, vol. i. part 3. There is also a brass to a civilian in the chancel, 1520; the inscription is lost.

At Merstham are several brasses of interest. In the north chancel is an altar tomb on which is a small brass to John Elenbrygge, Esq., and his two wives and a rather large family; he is not in armour: the date is 1473. Also another brass to a member of the same family and his wife, 1507. A small brass in the chancel to a civilian and his wife, 1464. One to John Newdegate, Esq., 1498, also in the chancel. His skirt of taces is divided into small oblong pieces; the skirt of mail is vandyked. The most interesting are the brasses of two children in the south chancel. One is in a long coat with a frill round the neck, and a girdle with a handkerchief fastened to it. The other child is in swaddling clothes, a "chrisom."

At Nutfield is a brass on the north side of the sacrarium to a man and his wife, 1465. The inscription says he was "formerly clerk of this church." It is a puzzle; if he was ordained, how comes he to have a wife; and not to be tonsured? If he was a lay clerk, parish clerk, how comes he to be buried where he is? The brass is a small one, 1465; he was a civilian.

At Bletchingley there is a young lady with her hair down her back, and she has collar and cuffs of fur, date 1470; small, the inscription is lost. In the north transept there are a man and his wife, 1541; she has a "pedimental" head-dress, and a pomander hanging to her girdle. On a separate plate is a figure of the Trinity.

In this church there is also the figure of a priest in mass vestments.

At Oxted there is a fragment of a priest in mass vestments, 1428, in the chancel. Also a memorial to a five-year-old child, with a wonderful tale about what he said shortly before he died. At Crowhurst there are two altar tombs, bearing brasses, to the memory of members of the Gaynesford family. One is in the chancel, to John Gaynesford, Esq., 1450. He is in armour. His gorget is composed of splints; the shoulder and elbow pieces are of moderate size; the skirt of taces is long. The other is in the north chancel to John Gaynesford, Esq., 1460, and his wife; he was son of the former. He has a gorget of plate with a mentoniere; shoulder pieces with straight upright guards; the elbow pieces are large and cumbersome; the skirt of taces short, with two large pointed tuilles; there are large plates behind the knees. It will be seen that there is a considerable difference between the armour of these two periods. In addition to these altar tombs there is a curious and not common form of memorial. It is a cast-iron plate bearing a small effigy in a shroud to Anne, daughter and heiress of Thomas Gaynesford, 1591.

At Lingfield are some brasses of importance, and deserving of careful attention. There was a college of canons with a master, here; the site is now occupied by the farmhouse to the west of the church. The church is a fine one, and possesses many points of interest. There are four memorials to masters of the college. A full-length figure to John Swetecock, 1469; he is in mass vestments; the collar of the amice is stiff and upright; the chasuble is perfectly plain, it hangs in folds, but is not full. Three other figures are half-length, and in the same vestments; their dates are 1445, 1458, and 1503. A figure of the Trinity has been lost from the last of these. In addition to these, there is a brass in the north chancel to Sir Reginald de Cobham, lord of the manor of Staresburgh, 1403; there is an inscription round the verge in Latin

verse. Boutell says of this brass, it "is a transition specimen, having the acutely-pointed basinet and camail in connection with the cuirass and taces; the sword-belt is girded across the hips, and the sword elaborately enriched from hilt to point. About his head-piece this knight wears a jewelled orle, or wreath." The orle is not commonly shown; it was to ease the pressure of the tilting helmet. The vervilles of the basinet reach up to the temples, but do not cross the forehead; his head rests on a helmet bearing the Cobham crest, a Saracen's head. He wears a jupon over the cuirass, fringed at the armpits. There are no roundels at the armpits; the elbow-pieces are small; the gauntlets are small; the sword hangs vertically at the left side, and the dagger on the right side is in front of the body; he stands on a greyhound. The ground of the inscription is cut away, leaving the lettering in relief. This is a very interesting brass; there is a similar one at Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, and another at Wisbech. There are two small shields of arms, one by each shoulder. There is another figure in armour, complete plate, in the chancel—John Hardresham, 1417. There are roundels at the shoulders, small fan-shaped elbow-pieces, and a skirt of taces. In the north chancel there is a figure of a lady of the Cobham family. This is similar to a brass at Cobham, Kent, to a lady of the same family. It is a good example of the nebulous head-dress, and of the sideless cote harde, furred at the edges. This is the earliest brass to a lady in the county—about 1370. The inscription is lost. In the same chancel there is a canopied brass to the wife of Sir Reginald de Cobham, 1420. She is in a mantle and tight-fitting kirtle; the head is gone. There is a marginal inscription. Rising from the top of the canopy is the matrix of a small banner, a unique arrangement. From an antiquarian point of view it is much to be regretted that these monuments have been "restored." A plate of this brass made before the "restoration" fortunately exists. In the north aisle is a small half-length

Wandsworth. A Serjeant-at-arms 1420.

figure of a single woman; she wears a veil thrown back, and a mantle. Also there is in the chancel a girl with long hair down her back, and a fillet across her forehead. There are also two altar tombs bearing sculptured effigies, and two curious figures impressed in tiles.

At Wandsworth is a very curious and almost unique brass to a "serviens ad arma," a serjeant-at-arms, of the time of Henry V., 1440. The brass is very much worn. The armour is similar to that of Edward de la Hale, at Oakwood (see plate). He has a mace of office hanging to his right side. There are figures of two other serjeants-at-arms, one at Shopland in Essex (*Antiquarian Etching Club*, ii. pl. 26); the other at Broxbourne in Herts (*ibid.*, iii. pl. 56; also figured in Haines' *Manual*, i. p. 126). The brass at Broxbourne is now lost.

At Addington are several sixteenth and seventeenth century figures; a lady carries a pomander hung to her girdle. In her will, she left to her daughter Edith her little pomander of gold. At Camberwell is a small figure in armour, with huge elbow-pieces, which must have been terribly in the way. Date about 1470. At Lambeth is

a very interesting brass to Catherine, wife of Lord William Howard; she wears a heraldic mantle; a canopy and the inscription are lost. She wears a pedimental head-dress. Date 1535. This brass is now fixed to the wall. There is also a brass to Thos. Clere, Esq., who lost his life, 1545, from a wound he received while saving the life of his friend Henry Howard, the illustrious Earl of Surrey. At Streatham is a brass to a rector of Streatham, and of Mickleham, 1513, in mass vestments. It is fastened to the wall.

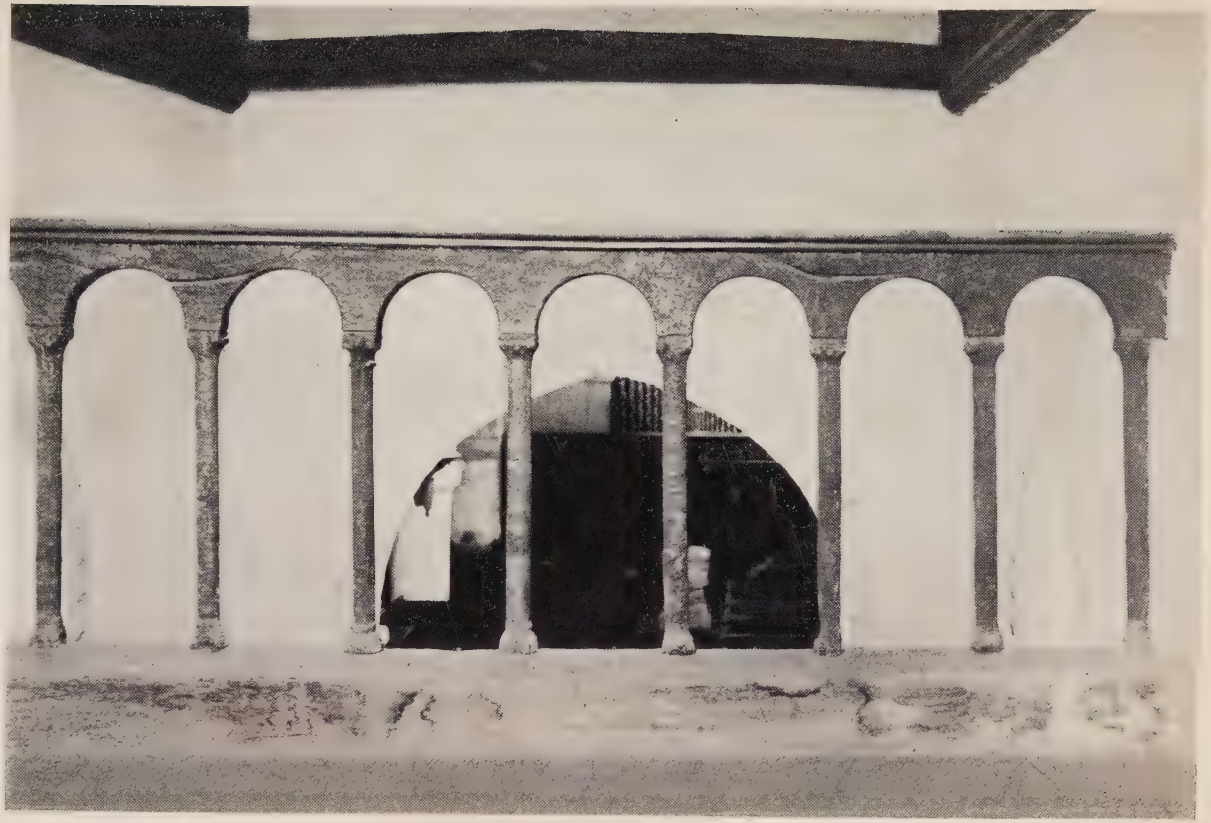
It will be seen that Surrey contains many very interesting brasses, and that much may be learned by a careful study of them.

ROODS, SCREENS, AND LOFTS IN SURREY

By Aymer Vallance, M.A., F.S.A.

THE county of Surrey, it must be confessed, cannot claim first rank in respect of its screenwork. No stone screen therein is on record, except two doubtful instances, viz. at Kingston and Thames Ditton; nor amongst its timber screens have I met with a single specimen of groined vaulting. The screens of Surrey belong uniformly to the simple, rectangular type of construction; nor are there more than three instances known of screenwork being painted, viz. at Charlwood, West Clandon, and Horley. And yet, in spite of these limitations, the county is second to none in interest on account of the comprehensive range it embraces. It contains the oldest extant timberwork of the nature of a screen in the kingdom, viz. the twelfth century example at Compton; and screens of every century after (except the thirteenth) down to the middle of the seventeenth century, or even later.

The documentary evidence of the county, whether in the form of writing or of the church fabrics themselves, illustrates almost every phase of usage in connection with the rood arrangements. Instances of the rood itself, with or without the usual attendant images, are furnished by the churches of Bermondsey Abbey, Bletchingley, Holy Trinity in Guildford, Kingston, Lambeth, and Wandsworth; and of the roodbeam at Mortlake, Send, and Wandsworth. The painting of the east wall of the nave, or of boarding, or timber and plaster tympana, to form backgrounds or surrounds for the rood, are exemplified by Chelsham, Cranleigh, Elstead, Kingston,



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Send, Thames Ditton, and Warlingham churches: and the decoration of the roof to form a celure, or canopy of honour, over the head of the great rood, by the yet surviving specimen at Pirford. Instances of the pious choice of a burial-place before or near the great rood occur at Addington and at St. Mary Magdalene in Southwark.

The customary light before the rood took the shape sometimes, as at Wandsworth, of an oil lamp, or more commonly of candles, the providing of wax for which is recorded at Addington, Chertsey Abbey, Holy Trinity in Guildford, and at Lambeth. These lights were fixed either in standard candlesticks, as at Beddington, Carshalton, and Newdigate, or, more often, in bowls or basins ranged along the candle-beam or the handrail of the rood-loft parapet, as at Addington, Beddington, Camberwell, Cheam, Kingston, Lingfield, Wandsworth, and Woodmasterne. The rood lights were maintained by endowment, as at Compton and Shere; or by gifts and bequests, as at Camberwell, Holy Trinity in Guildford, Horley, Kingston, and St. Olave in Southwark. Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Uvedale, by her will, dated 14th October 1487, left "to everich parish church where my livelode (property from which income was derived) lieth in Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, XX^{s} to the Rood light," a liberal sum to which, by the terms of the bequest, no less than fourteen churches in the county, as the *Inquisitio post mortem* shows, became entitled. Instances of the rood-cloth, or veil for covering the rood in Lent, are recorded at Addington, St. Mary Magdalene in Bermondsey, Cheam, Coulsdon, Holy Trinity in Guildford, West Horsley, Lambeth, Leigh, Mitcham, Puttenham, Send, St. Mary Overie in Southwark, Tatsfield, Wandsworth, and Windlesham; and of cloths for hanging on the rood-loft at Ashtead, Cobham, and West Horsley.

Of external rood-turrets, unusual features in Surrey, examples occur at Bletchingley and Lingfield. The ample rood-stairs at Lingfield, in striking contrast to the narrow and awkward stairs at Stoke d'Abernon, for instance,

illustrate the difference of usage in a collegiate church (where the rood-loft was used much as the pulpitum in a cathedral or monastic church), and that of an ordinary parochial church (where the loft was neither used, nor built to be used, in the ceremonial of public worship). It is a debatable point as to how access was obtained to the rood-loft in cases where there are no stone stairs. The churchwardens' accounts, therefore, of Wandsworth, are of peculiar value, because they afford a specific instance of a timber rood-stair being constructed, in 1556–57, to replace the former one destroyed, under Edward VI., together with the rood-loft to which it had been attached.

ADDINGTON.—John Legh by will, dated 17th December 1479, directed that his body should be buried "*in medio . . . ecclesie ante crucem.*" An inventory, dated 15th March 1548–49, mentions eleven "rod platerres of pewter," *i.e.* basins for lights in the rood-loft, "an old coffer in the rode-loft," and "one cake of waxse of the rode lyght." A later inventory, apparently of the year 1551, enumerates "a rude cloth" and "six platers of pewter," whence it is evident that five of those previously existing had already been made away with; whilst a memorandum, dated 1552, amongst ornaments alleged to have been embezzled, sold, and appropriated by a former vicar, Thomas Berington, deceased, mentions "a rude cloth with twelve apostelles payntyd."

ALFOLD.—Lady Uvedale, dying June 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light. The oak chancel-screen comprises some portions of authentic mediæval work, which Mr. Ralph Nevill assigns to about 1400.

ASHTEAD.—An inventory, dated 17th March 1548–49, mentions "one curten of lynen to hang before the roode-loft."

BEDDINGTON.—"One branche of latten standyng before

the rood-loft, and thirteen bowles of latten standyng before the rood in front," were sold, and the money applied, among other things, to the "takyng down of idols" in the church—this, no doubt, refers to the removal of the rood figures—between the beginning of June and end of December 1549. The Carew chapel on the south side of the chancel is separated from the latter by two Perpendicular oak parcloses —or a single parclose in two sections—one in each arch. Both sections are 8 ft. 9 in. high by 8 ft. 7½ in. long. Both comprise three rectangular compartments, subdivided each into two; that is to say, each section comprises six minor compartments, of centring that varies from 1 ft. 4 in. to 1 ft. 5 in., and having fenestration tracery to the depth of 11½ in. The latter is cinquefoil-cusped, with uncusped batements in the spandrels. A beaded ogee, attached to the leading fillet of the tracery, gives additional relief and richness to the design. From the cord-line to the middle rail the measurement varies between 3 ft. and 3 ft. 1½ in. Every alternate muntin, or the middle one in each principal compartment, has been cut off between about three and four inches below the cord-line, and is thus made pendent—an arrangement which, strange to say, appears, judged by the moulded edged slab at the bottom of each truncated muntin, to be ancient, if not actually the original one. The easternmost compartment is opened down to the ground and fitted with a modern gate. The wainscot, which is divided into plain, rectangular panels by mouldings in continuation of, or corresponding to, the muntins of the fenestration, stands about 4 ft. 1½ in. high. To the face of the muntins are attached buttresses, square on plan. Those on the chancel side are modern, as are also the bases of the buttresses on the south side of the screen. The lintel is handsomely moulded, and has a row of mortice-holes, centring at 20 inches, sunk into it along the top.

On its west side the Carew chapel is separated from the nave's south aisle by a parclose of plainer and somewhat earlier appearance than the above described. This screen

stands 7 ft. long by 8 ft. 6 in. high, with a plain wainscot 4 ft. 5 in. high. The north end comprises four lights centring at 12 inches, with tracery to the depth of 11¼ inches in the head. The design is that of a trefoil-cusped ogee, each spandrel being formed of one uncusped batement. From the middle rail to the cord-line measures 2 ft. 7¾ in. South of the fenestration is the doorway, which has a clear opening of 2 ft. 1 in. wide, fitted with a modern gate. The doorhead, 13¼ inches deep at the cord-line, is a board, four-centred beneath, and pierced in the fashion of plate tracery by three quatrefoils—remarkable, if genuine, as a treatment altogether exceptional for its period. The screen is surmounted by a moulded lintel. (1910.)

BERMONDSEY (Cluniac Abbey).—An ancient crucifix or rood, found near the Thames in 1117, taken to the Priory Church, and set up there in a place of honour, became a noted object of pilgrimage. William of Mortain, attributing his release from the Tower in 1118 to the virtue of the same crucifix, eventually entered religion in the community amidst whom it was preserved. Towards the end of the thirteenth century special indulgences were granted to those who visited the church for the purpose of venerating the crucifix. An altar of the Holy Cross was consecrated there in 1338–39. The cultus continued into the fifteenth century, when the reverse of the abbey seal bore the legend—"*Salva nos Xpe Salvator per virtutem Sancte Crucis.*" The abbey being surrendered on 1st January 1537–38, the church, with all its contents, was dismantled.

St. Mary Magdalene.—The churchwardens' accounts for 1548–49 contain the item of payment made "for payntyng the scrypter ageynst the rode lofte." An inventory, dated 18th October 1552, mentions "a paynted cloth to hange before the roode in Lent."

BLETCHINGLEY. — Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, bequeathed 20s. to the rood light. In the closing months

of Henry VIII.'s reign the churchwardens' accounts record payments "for settying up the rood lofte, 10d.; for nayles for the same, 2d."; and for "making cleane the tables of the rood lofte." On the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, the churchwardens were cited to attend a visitation at Croydon, where they appear to have received instructions to destroy the rood, for items follow of payments "to laborers ffor polyng downe of the roode," and "ffor bering out of stuffe out of the chirche." Subsequently, one of Edward VI.'s commissioners, Sir Thomas Cawerden, sent in an account of his claim for sums disbursed by him "for payentyng . . . the rood loft, the King's acrms . . . and for the cullers and stuff tharto aperteynyng, . . . for to ooper pertysyons (two upper partitions) in the qwyre and chaunsell, . . . for quarters and tymber to ye same," and "for nayells occupyed thereabowtt."

The rood-loft extended across the width of the whole church, *i.e.* nave and south aisle, the rood-stair being contained in a stair turret, conspicuous at the south-east of the nave's south aisle. The oak door of the doorway, admitting from the aisle to the newel-stair, was noted by Brayley, in 1844, as bearing the date 1641. The upper doorway that emerged onto the loft is of similar character to that at the bottom of the stairs.

BOOKHAM, GREAT.—"Some wookwork, cut up and serving to form . . . a pew, towards the end of the south aisle," was conjectured by Major Heales in 1871 to represent the remains of the former rood-screen; while the arch between the chancel and south, or Slyfield, chapel "still retains its parclose . . . though . . . gutted of tracery which it . . . once possessed"; but in 1890 Major Heales remarked only that "the east end" of the south aisle was parted off by a "mutilated screen." The lower part, still remaining, is of fifteenth century workmanship.

BUCKLAND.—According to Manning and Bray (1804–14)

the chancel was then separated from the nave "by a wooden screen reaching to the ceiling." The screen was 21 feet 6 inches long, the width of the building itself.

BURSTOW (September 1910).—The easternmost abutment of the south arcade, built in the fifteenth century, was purposely made wider than the abutment at the west end in order to provide space for the rood-stairs, which were situated at the north-east corner of the south aisle. Thence a passage was pierced through the abutment wall and emerged into the south end of the rood-loft in the nave. No other sign now remains except a depression in the surface of the arcade wall at its eastern extremity in the aisle, and the partly-bared timber wall-plate. The latter, about 15 feet above the floor level, must have formed the lintel of the (now blocked) aperture. The rood-loft, spanning the width of the nave, was 18 feet long. At a height of about 6 feet from the floor, in the east wall of the nave, is a pair of trefoiled niches, one each side of the chancel arch. They date from the second half of the fifteenth century, and, of course, entered into the composition in the scheme of design of the rood-screen.

CAMBERWELL.—Richard Skynner, by will, dated 1492, gave 8d. for a light before the Holy Cross. The Edwardian inventories of the years 1548–49 and 1552 both mention the existence of "nine bowllys for the rode lyght." The building was so severely damaged by fire in 1841 that it was taken down and entirely rebuilt. In the process of demolition the ancient rood-stair was discovered, partly built into a buttress on the north side, whence a gangway must have traversed the north aisle to the rood-loft proper in the nave.

CARSHALTON.—The inventory, dated 19th March 1549, mentions twenty-one "latten candelstykes for the rode

Charlwood Church: Details from Cresting of Screen across the South Aisle.

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lofte"; but within a year's time these were sold by the churchwardens.

CATERHAM.—In the old church, disused except as a school, the mutilated base of the rood-screen remains.

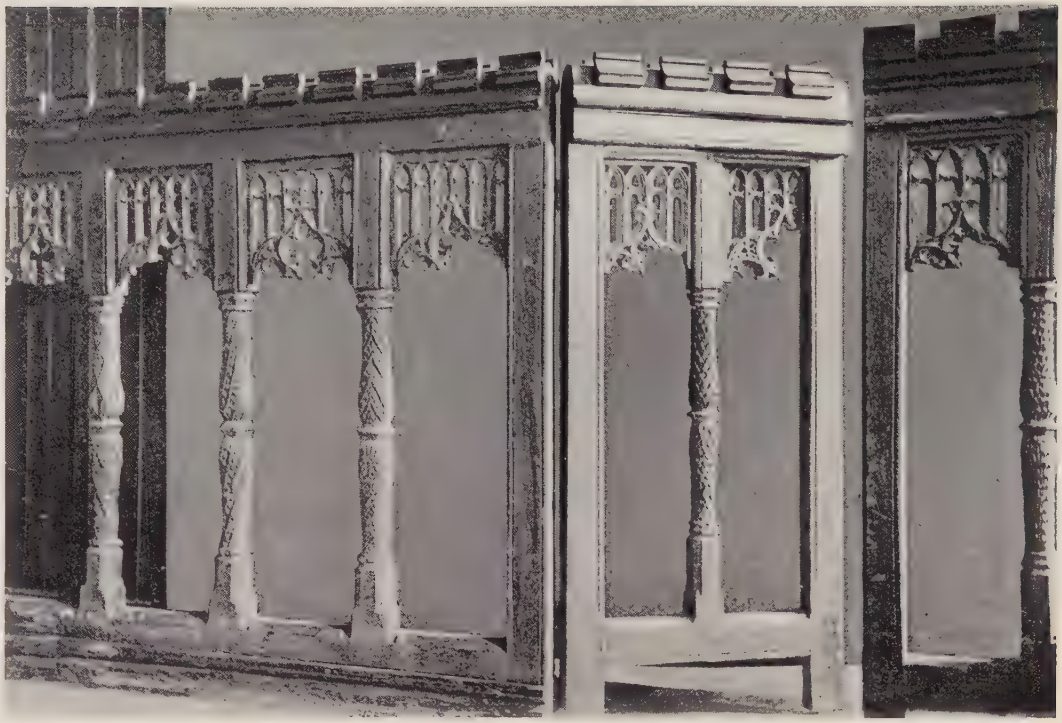
CHARLWOOD.—The rood-screen has perished, but the south chapel (now used as the chancel) is separated from the nave's south aisle by a handsome timber screen of late-Perpendicular work. It was erected, no doubt, at the expense of Richard Saunder (*obiit* 1480), whose initials, held by griffins, are thrice repeated in the brattishing. The arms introduced in the same place are sable a chevron ermine between three bull's heads cabossed argent (for Saunder) impaling or three lions passant sable (for Carew). The brattishing, which is unusually rich and deep, and has been profusely gilded, contains, beside the sacred monogram, the crowned M of the Blessed Virgin in the middle. Beneath runs a vine-trail, admirably sculptured in relief. The screen consists of seven traceried rectangular compartments on each side of the doorway, the head of which, occupying the space of four lights, has as many traceries, of the same pattern as those in the sides, eighteen lights in all. The screen is 18 ft. 8 in. long. It underwent repair in 1859, and the "painting is modern restoration." The doors were removed shortly before 1891, but have since been rehung in their proper place.

CHEAM.—Twenty-four "bosses of latten for the roode lofte" existed, according to an inventory dated 12th March 1548–49, but were disposed of by the churchwardens on 6th June 1550. Another inventory, dated 30th September 1552, mentions "a cloth steynyd to hang upon the roode." Between the north aisle and the north chapel, which was built by Lord Lumley in 1592, stood a wooden screen. It was removed, however, between 1801 and 1804.

CHELSHAM.—The rood-screen, though mutilated and reduced to only about 4 feet high, affords an interesting example of the time of Henry VIII., *c.* 1530. The heads of the openings (fourteen altogether, including those of the gates) are occupied by Gothic tracery ornaments, all, save one, of uniform design. The shafts, in the shape of turgid balusters, carved with decadent diaper pattern, denote the late date of the work; while the peculiar stops to the chamfering of the $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. square bases are suggestive of foreign, possibly Flemish, influence. The cornice, comprising roundels with bas-relief heads, was in consonance with the same late character. When Manning and Bray wrote, they remarked on one of these heads wearing a helmet. However, the cornice disappeared before 1844, and is replaced by an embattled lintel of modern execution. The plain, close-boarded wainscot below the middle rail has been cut down to the scantiest dimensions. The screen is now in the place of a rood-screen, but Mr. Johnston says that originally it formed the parclose of a chapel at the south-east part of the nave. However, it was already occupying its present position by 1720, as noted by E. Steele, in vol. ii. of *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*. According to Mr. A. S. Daniell, there was, until the "restoration" in 1871, "a structure of timber and plaster dividing the chancel from the nave," *i.e.* a tympanum.

CHERTSEY (Benedictine Abbey). — In 1283–84 the parishioners of Bisley secured for themselves the independent right of sepulture, on condition that they made an annual contribution of 3 lbs. of wax for the lights of the Holy Cross in Chertsey Abbey Church. The altar of the Holy Cross was in existence in 1318, when a chantry was founded thereat by Philip de Barthone. Again, in January 1359–60, it was covenanted that Mass should be offered daily at the same altar for the soul of Robert de Ledred.

CHESSINGTON.—"A small piece of oaken lattice work,"



Chelsham Church: Portion of Chancel-Screen.

noted by Brayley in 1844, "in one of the chancel pews," was probably a relic of the demolished screen.

CHIPSTEAD (May 1910).—In the eastern crossing arch stands a Perpendicular oak rood-screen, 10 ft. 8 in. high by 12 ft. 3 in. long. Rectangular in construction, it comprises three openings, centring at from 13 to 14 inches, on each side of the chancel entrance, with tracery ornament to the depth of 10 inches in the heads. From the middle rail to the cord-line measures 4 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the wainscot, of simple feather-edge boarding, stands 4 ft. 6 in. high. The central doorway has a clear opening of 4 ft. 1 in. wide. Buttresses, square on plan, are attached to the westward face of the jambs. There are no gates. The door-head is four-centred, with pierced spandrels without cusps or any other ornament. The tracery of the side openings is of rustic workmanship, and consists of cinquefoil cusping beneath four cuspless batements in each compartment. The date of the tracery seems to be about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The lintel is surmounted by the royal arms, sculptured, with lion and unicorn for supporters —late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century work. A door, 2 ft. 1 in. wide by 5 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high to the top of its depressed segmental head, opens at a level of 9 ft. 6 in. above the floor at the extreme south end of the east wall of the south aisle. Thence stairs conduct northwards up to the belfry stage in the tower, but no stairs exist by which the door can be reached from below. If ever there were any, they would no doubt have served in course of time for access to the rood-loft, the rood-screen in that case standing in the western crossing arch, which has the same span as that of the eastern crossing.

CLANDON, EAST.—The rood-loft doorway remains. (J. E. Morris, *County Churches*, 1910.)

CLANDON, WEST.—Some boards preserved here, with

rudely painted figures of saints upon them, may possibly have formed the panels of the rood-screen wainscot, for it is evident that they were originally framed up with trefoil-shaped head-ornament. They are of late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century execution. Two of them depict Saints Peter and Paul, while the third, that of an archbishop, in pontificals, but without distinctive emblem, is conjectured to represent St. Thomas of Canterbury. The nimbuses exhibit traces of gilding, and the figures "are coarsely outlined in black" on a light ground.

COBHAM.—An inventory, dated 17th March, in the third year of Edward VI. (1548-49), mentions two "lynnyne clothes that dyd hang before the rode lofte."

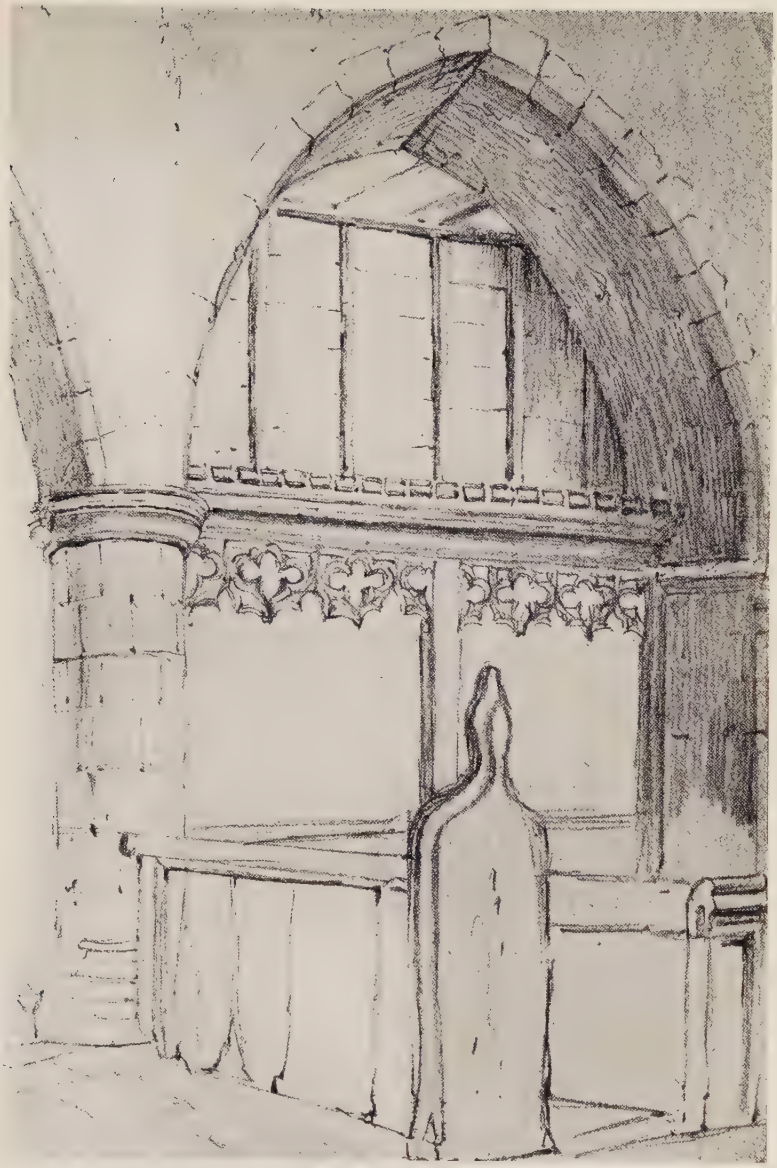
It seems that no vestige of screen-work survived into the nineteenth century, except a parclose of late-fourteenth century work, contemporary with Richard II. It was standing *in situ*, and, but for the loss of its minor muntins, in excellent preservation when William Twopeny made a drawing of it in 1825. The screen stood in the westernmost arch of the two between the chancel and the north chancel-aisle. This arch has a clear opening of 9 feet between the cylindrical column and the western respond. The other, the easternmost arch, opening 8 ft. 7 in. in the clear, had already lost its screen by the year 1825. The parclose, depicted by Twopeny, was afterwards—probably in 1853—displaced and cut up to make the sides of a south porch to the nave. By 1866, however, even its proper position was forgotten, and it had come to be mistaken for the rood-screen. At the present day (May 1910), of the six pieces of oak tracery fitted into the porch, all are modern except one, or rather the mutilated portion of one, which occupies the southernmost compartment on the east side. Measuring in its present state 2 ft. 3 in. long by 16 in. high, it is the only fragment that remains from the ancient parclose, which, to calculate from the data furnished by the original itself and by the drawing, appears to have comprised, in a

framework of three substantial uprights, two strips of head tracery, each about 3 ft. 6 in. long, supported on minor muntins, centring at about 14 inches. The moulded and embattled lintel has utterly disappeared, and none of the existing framework in the porch belongs to the old screen. For the rest, the purpose of the tympanum-like boarding, which closed the arch above the lintel of the screen, not being self-evident, awaits a satisfactory explanation.

It is not altogether impossible that certain marks and irregularities in the plaster on the north side of the nave's north arcade at its eastern extremity may result from the walling up of a passage, tunnelled through the easternmost spandrel, to communicate between the rood-loft across the nave, and a gangway in line with it across the aisle; but the whole building has been so unsparingly tampered with by generations of renovators that it would be rash to pronounce positively on the point.

COMPTON (1909).—The eastern portion of the chancel (at an interval of 13 ft. 8 in. from the west wall of the same) is divided into two floors, both open toward the west, the upper carried on stone vaulting underneath. The latter constitutes no part of the original scheme of the fabric, notwithstanding the date of its insertion cannot, on the latest computation, be posterior to the last decade of the twelfth century. A stair, entered through an annexe on the south side of the chancel, conducts to the platform above, the westward front of which is bounded by a timber arcade, extending 13 feet long, across the chancel from wall to wall. This structure is strictly a balustrade rather than a screen in formation, because it is open down to the plinth, without either middle rail or wainscot. Nevertheless, since it fences what was in fact a chapel (as the piscina therein testifies), it should for all intents and purposes be classed with parclose screens. The arcading is formed of a board 3 inches thick by 9 inches high, in the under part of which, at intervals of somewhat less than 4 inches, a series of nine semicircular

arches is hollowed out, to the height of 7 inches to the crown from the cord-line, itself 13 inches across. This arcaded board is carried on ten oak pillars, centring at 17 inches, and measuring each 2 ft. 10½ in. high, inclusive of the caps and bases, both alike square on plan, and of transitional type. The capitals are sculptured with volutes of foliage ; the bases are moulded. The shafts in their present decayed and age-worn state are cylindrical, though Mr. J. L. André and Mr. P. M. Johnston have described them as octagonal ; and the latter authority so represents them in his drawing in vol. ii. of the *Victoria County History of Surrey*. The pillars range along the western edge of a massive oak cill-piece, 9 inches high by 11½ inches thick from front to back. The whole, raised 10 ft. 6 in. above the present floor-level of the chancel, measures 4 ft. 6 in. high, including a modern moulding laid upon the top. The woodwork shows no sign of ever having been coloured. The Rector, Rev. H. H. Gillett, finding the surface caked with whitewash when he came in 1877, cleaned and freed it from that noxious disguise. The work, being of late Norman character, may be assigned approximately to 1180. The well-known expert, Mr. H. Thackeray Turner, however, having formed his own theory as to its origin, does not allow that it can be earlier than the thirteenth century. One most important point must be insisted on, viz. that the upper chancel, or gallery, had nothing whatever to do with the rood-loft arrangements. The arcade itself is situated at a distance of 16 ft. 6 in. to east of the east end of the nave, where the latter was spanned by the rood-loft, 16 ft. 10 in. in length. There can be no doubt about the site of the rood-loft, because remains of the ancient rood-stairs still exist at the south-east corner of the north aisle, in the eastern abutment of the north arcade. The stair was entered from the north by a doorway 2 ft. 3 in. wide, under a timber lintel hollowed into a segmental shape. The tread of the lowest step is 4 ft. 11 in. above the floor. However, it must not be forgotten that the levels of the church have been altered in modern days. Steps



Cobham Church: Parclose on North Side of Chancel.
(Drawn in 1825.)

descended, in times past, from the nave to the lower level of the chancel. The rood-stair issued southwards at the east end of the nave arcade. The aperture is now walled up, but the site of it is denoted by the unevenness of the plaster. From the survey of chantries in 1549, it appears that the rood-light "was endowed with land of the yearly value of 16d." It may be assumed that the mediæval rood-screen had perished either before, or during, the seventeenth century, when a new chancel-screen, in the style of the period, was provided. This is the same screen which yet exists, but it has been transferred to the west end of the nave.

COULSDON.—An inventory, dated 14th March 1548–49, mentions the item of "a rode cloth payntyd."

CRANLEIGH.—Lady Uvedale, dying in 1489, bequeathed 20s. to the rood-light. Above the chancel-arch a mural painting, believed to have been a Doom, was discovered before 1844, but disappeared at the disastrous "restoration" in 1845. "At the end of each aile," wrote Manning and Bray in 1804–14, "is a chapel, inclosed with latices of curious and elegant workmanship." According to Major Heales, in 1874, the "parclose formerly between the chancel and south transept," or Knowle chapel, "is said to have been moved further back," and the corresponding parclose of the north transept to have been cut up and used in the manufacture of the pulpit. But since the delicate carving which ornaments the pulpit is of a form quite unusual in screen-work, it is more probable that the north parclose utterly perished in 1845. Indeed, Mr. J. L. André testified in 1891 that "much of the screen-work" had "been destroyed within memory." The fifteenth century parclose, still standing in the south transept, is surmounted by "ugly modern cresting."

CROWHURST.—Lady Uvedale, dying in 1489, bequeathed 20s. to the rood-light. The length of the rood-loft front was

17 ft. 9 in., the width of the nave; and Rev. A. Hussey observed in 1842, that marks, then visible in the chancel wainscot, proved the latter to have "been coexistent with the rood-loft" itself.

CROYDON.—From the materials collected by Dr. A. C. Ducarel it appears that in 1783 there existed "three Tables of Benefactions on the screen between the church and middle chancel (under the King's arms)"; but the reference is merely incidental, the writer unfortunately omitting any description of the screen itself.

A chantry chapel, founded before 1402, and dedicated to our Lady, on the north, and one, to St. Nicholas, founded before 1443, on the south, were no doubt enclosed by screens, every trace of which, however, seems to have disappeared long before the almost total destruction of the church by fire on 5th January 1867.

Palace of the Archbishops.—The larger and only surviving one of the two chapels that formerly existed at the Archiepiscopal Palace is divided transversely by a fifteenth century oak screen into a quire of about 48 ft. 6 in. long, and an antechapel at the west end. The screen, austerely plain, is 24 ft. 6 in. long by 9 ft. 3 in. high. The wainscot is divided by stiles into six rectangular compartments on either side of the doors, each of which is about equal in width to one side compartment—a total of fourteen solid compartments. The fenestration above the middle rail is subdivided by an additional muntin in each compartment into two corresponding lights, having a clear opening of 2 ft. 6¼ in. high, and no tracery nor other ornament in the head. There are then twelve lights on either hand, and two to each door, or twenty-eight in all. The wainscot of the doors rises to a slightly lower level than that of the sides. The doors open under an horizontal lintel, the effect of which, when they are closed, is that of a transom. The west face of this lintel, and also of both faces of the middle rail, are ornamented by Gothic wave tracery. The lintel of the

screen itself is ornamented on the east by a trail of grapes and vine leaves, and on the west by mouldings, both fronts being surmounted by battlements. The screen is disfigured by a seventeenth century cornice, and by a heavy hood to match, with solid panel at the back, forming a return stall for the use of the archbishop, on the south side of the quire entrance. On the abandonment of Croydon Palace by the archbishops after 1758, the chapel passed through various indignities until 1887, when, the property being purchased by the Duke of Newcastle for a sisterhood and girls' school, the chapel came into use as such once more. Engravings of the interior, including scale drawings of the screen, were published by Augustus Pugin in the first volume of his *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, Plates 41 and 42; and a photographic view appeared in the issue of *Country Life* for 22nd January 1910.

DUNSFOLD.—"The original chancel-screen is said to have existed within memory," wrote Mr. J. L. André in 1895, "but there do not appear to be any traces of rood-loft stairs."

EFFINGHAM.—In 1852 a low, massive screen, of seventeenth century workmanship, with plain panelled doors, equally massive, stood across the chancel-arch.

ELSTEAD.—There still remains, writes Mr. Johnston in 1902, "a very perfect and interesting example of" a "timber and plaster" partition or tympanum between nave and chancel.

EWELL (June 1910).—In the chancel-screen of the present church, which was built to supply the place of the ancient church, wantonly demolished in 1847, some remains of oak screen-work, apparently of the first half of the fifteenth century, are embodied. It is impossible, under the circumstances, to determine the correct dimensions of the original

screen ; yet enough has been preserved to prove that it was rectangular in formation, consisting of compartments centred at 2 ft. 4 in., and subdivided by moulded minor muntins into two lights each. The principal muntins are faced with buttresses, square on plan, and crowned with crocketed pinnacles, running up to the lowest bead of the lintel. Portions only of the buttresses are authentic, beside three of the pinnacles, to wit, the two attached to the door-jambs, and the one nearest to the south side of the doors. The fenestration head-traceries average 10 in. high by 11 in. wide, sight measure. Their design is that of a cinquefoiled ogee, with rosettes and leafage (nearly all "restorations") at the cusp-tips, and rosette-centred trefoils, set slantwise, in the pierced spandrels. Of these traceries the existing screen, gates included, comprises altogether fourteen, which cannot well be in accordance with the original plan, because they work out at an uneven number, making incomplete compartments on each side of the gates. Presumably, therefore, there are either two lights wanting, or two too many. A large part of the timber of the middle rail is original, but the battlements and moulding attached to its westward face are of modern introduction. The paltry open panelling below the middle rail is not only quite modern, but there can be no disputing that it utterly misrepresents the ancient design. Of the lintel (17 ft. 8 in. long) both ends are spliced with additional wood, but the greater part, *i.e.* about 13 ft. 6 in. in the middle, is genuine. In the uppermost surface is sunk a number of mortice-holes, having an average centring of 1 ft. 7 in. Along the top is fixed a Tudor flower cresting, of which only the northernmost 6 feet length appears to be entirely modern, though the rest has all been much patched and "restored."

EWHURST.—Lady Uvedale, dying in 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light.

FARNHAM.—According to Brayley (1844), part of a

screen, which originally stood in the chancel, after having been removed thence, was set up, some time before 1831, in Seale Church. Two plain screens retain some authentic work of late-fourteenth century date, made up with modern work. One of them occupies the opening between the north chapel and north transept; the other similarly fences the south chapel on its west side.

FETCHAM.—The "upper and lower doorways of the rood-stair and part of the stair itself" survive. (J. E. Morris, *County Churches*, 1910.)

FRENSHAM.—In Aubrey's day (1719) there was a chancel-screen, surmounted by the arms of Arundel of Wardour; but it was removed before the time of Manning and Bray (1804).

GATTON.—The rood-screen, erected in 1834, having been imported hither from Devonshire, does not belong to the category of Surrey screens.

GUILDFORD (Dominican Friary).—The monastery was surrendered on 10th October 1538 to Henry VIII.'s visitor, who thereupon caused an inventory to be drawn up of its property and contents. Among the fittings of the quire were "feyer stallys well sileid (ceiled) with an orgeyne lofte," and "under the stepill a feyer lofte"; while in the nave stood, within the "parclose" screen, two altars, and "without the parclose" was "a feyer candelbeme, new."

St. Mary's (September 1910).—There is no rood-stair, but the upper passage to the rood-loft still remains, tunnelled from east to west through the thickness of the west wall of the central tower, and opening by a depressed arched doorway above the north side of the western crossing arch, at a height of 15 ft. 4 in. from the present nave floor level. The rebate round the westward edge shows that

the door swung outwards onto the rood-loft, which, spanning the nave, must have been 17 ft. 6 in. long. Some late-fifteenth century woodwork, now made up into the organ-case, must not be mistaken for remains of screen-work. It is in reality the ancient reredos of the south chapel; and Rev. A. Hussey (*Churches*, 1852) depicts it *in situ* across the apse. The spot can be identified by the steps which used to rise through the northernmost opening in the reredos, and which may still be seen at the north-east corner of the chapel.

St. Nicholas.—In the time of Manning and Bray (1804–14) the Loseley Chapel on the south side was "separated from the church by an open wooden screen."

Holy Trinity.—The churchwardens, in their account for 1509, mention disbursements for, among other things, "3 lb. of wex for the rode lyte," and for "makeing the same." In 1512, 2d. was "payd for lyne to draw up the rood cloth." In 1514, "rec. at the feast of Chrystmas, for the rode light, of the whole parish," 7s.; and among expenditures occurs the item of 4d. "for makeing of the light that standeth by the rode before St. Clement's auter, and the flowers of the same." In 1523, 3s. was paid "for making a new crosse to the rood-loft." An inventory, dated 23rd July 1558, mentions "a painted cloth for the rode."

HASCOMBE.—The old church, of which the destruction, begun on 10th June 1863, culminated in the substitution of a modern building in 1864, was 21 ft. 3 in. wide, and had no chancel-arch. The Perpendicular oak rood-screen, which presumably therefore extended from side to side of the building, is said to have been found in a shocking condition through defacement and whitewashing before it fell into the hands of Mr. H. Woodyer. It was then so completely renovated under his direction, and its entire surface so overlaid with modern colour and gilding, that it is difficult to determine what amount of authentic work has been spared for incorporation with the new. There can be no

question, however, that the wainscot at the bottom, with its untraceried panels, painted with travesties of mediæval figure-work, and its truncated dimensions of no more than 2 ft. 8½ in. high, cannot pretend either to be or to reproduce the original. For the rest the following measurements and particulars are only guaranteed to represent the screen in its present form. It stands 14 ft. 10 in. long by 9 ft. high. The fenestration comprises twelve rectangular compartments (*i.e.* four on each side, and two to each gate), centring from 1 ft. 1 in. to 1 ft. 2 in., with cusped and ogee-arcuated tracery in the head to the depth of 10¼ in. This tracery presents the same degree of finish on both surfaces. The openings from the middle rail to the cord-line measure 4 ft. 4 in. high. The buttresses, attached to the face of the main uprights, are almost entirely of new work. The gates, which have a clear opening of 4 ft. 7½ in., are altogether new. The lintel, in which is inserted a carved trail of Gothic flower and leaf, is surmounted by battlementing of modern execution. (1909.)

HORLEY.—John Chelsham, whose will is dated 14th January 1534, bequeathed 4d. to the light of the Holy Cross. To form a chapel, the east end of the north aisle was partitioned off by a fifteenth century parclose, crossing the aisle, and returned eastwards, under the easternmost arch of the north arcade of the nave, to join the north pier of the chancel opening. Much of the lower part of this screen, showing traces of the original colouring of red and green, remained until 1880, when, under pretence of restoration, it was swept away, together with another, a late-seventeenth century screen, which stood at the east end of the tower-arch.

HORNE.—The rood-screen comprises, with the old, much new work. It is rectangular in construction, and of an ordinary type of Perpendicular, resembling the screen-work at Alfold.

HORSELL.—The handsome Gothic rood-screen, mentioned by Cracklow in 1801, was removed in 1840 and broken up, parts of it being used to "improve" the reading-desk. The remains suffered further damage about the year 1867. "There is a small window in the south wall of the chancel," said Mr. Thomas Milbourn in 1874, "which appears to have been originally the entrance to the rood-loft, for Rev. Mr. Mangles . . . whilst making alterations . . . to . . . the opening . . . discovered some steps below the cill, which steps are now to be seen in the wall externally."

HORSLEY, WEST.—The inventory, dated 6th October 1552, mentions "a roode clothe for Lentt" and "a cloth to hang before the roode lofte." The rood-screen occupies the chancel-arch, and is assigned by Mr. P. M. Johnston to about the year 1470. It is rectangular in construction; "it retains its doors, and has poor, thin tracery of a somewhat common type, consisting of a flattened ogee, trefoiled head, with flamboyant figures over." The lintel is embattled, as is also that of the parclose, which consists of two sections, shutting off the south chapel from the chancel on the north, and from the south aisle on the west. The date of the parclose appears to be between 1470 and 1510. The section across the south aisle was remarked by Mr. Johnston in 1908 as being "thickly coated with brown paint, which might with advantage be removed." It has tracery of a somewhat unusual treatment, *i.e.* without fillets, "in the head of each alternate opening, the other being plain and square," like those of the screen in the old Palace Chapel at Croydon.

KINGSTON.—By an agreement, dated 28th February 1374–75, between the prior and convent of Merton and the vicar of Kingston, the former covenanted to maintain the divisions "commonly called parcloses," betwixt the nave and chancel of Kingston church, of Petersham, and of the other chapels belonging to Kingston. In 1459

William Skerne's chantry was founded in St. James' Chapel, which stood on the south side of the chancel, and was fenced by a parclose screen. Part of the latter, after the confiscation of chantries, was sold in 1562, the churchwardens' accounts for that year noting the receipt of 1s. for "an old piece of carved worke ayenst Seint Jamys chauncell." Bequests were made in 1496, 1502, 1514, and 1520, to the light of an image, which is variously styled the Rood, or Holy Rood, of Comfort, and St. Saviour of Comfort; and William Smyth, in 1522, left a taper of 1 lb. of wax for the same object. Whatever this image may have been, it was evidently distinct from the Great Rood, to the light of which also numerous bequests and contributions are recorded. Thus, in 1498 Henry Hayter bequeathed 4d.; in 1502 John Lee bequeathed 1s.; and in 1503 the churchwardens received gifts of 20d. and 4d. for the same object. In 1503 they paid 20d. for making the rood-light, and 10s. 2d. in 1510. In 1510 Richard Dyer bequeathed 1s.; and the equivalent amount was left by Richard Grove in 1520. William Smyth in 1522 bequeathed 4d. "to the bason lights," meaning, no doubt, the lights in the rood-loft. The latter seems to have been approached by the newel-staircase, entered from the west, attached to the north side of the north pier of the eastern crossing. The churchwardens' accounts show that 2d. was paid in 1508 for "swepyng of ye Rode lofte and makyng clene of the Rode." It must have been decided in 1522 to replace the rood-loft then existing by a new one, for, by will, dated 29th August in the same year, William Smyth left 1s. "unto the building of the Rood loft." The total cost of this work was £30, 6s. 8d., on account of which a sum was paid to the joiner and the carver in 1525. "In the following year the men of the parish contributed £4, 11s. 11d. towards it." In 1536, 1s. 10d. was paid for "ironwork to sett upp Marie and John"; and in 1537 William Russell received 40s. "for gilltyng of our Lady in high Rode lofte," and 1s. for painting the base of the same

figure. In the last-named year a small sum was paid for "makyng clene of the Rodde lofte and hangyng uppe of the curteyns." Part of the woodwork of the rood-loft was disposed of in 1561, but the latter was not demolished entirely until 1563, when the screen underneath, which, according to law, remained standing, was made good where it had been damaged by the dismemberment. Shortly after, the "bowrds before ye Chauncell," presumably forming a tympanum, were whitened over to afford a suitable ground for painted texts. In Brayley's time, 1844, "a large wooden screen" separated "the transept from the chancel"; and the same authority mentions a "freestone screen . . . on the north side of the church."

LAMBETH.—From the parish churchwardens' accounts several interesting particulars may be gleaned. In 1505 the "wex chandeler" was paid 2s. 3d. "for makynge of the roode light," and 1s. 5d. for the same services "against Ester" in 1516. It appears that "the goodwyfe Argall and the goodwyfe Hykks" handed to the churchwardens 7s. 9d. "gaderyd of the pareyffours for the Tryndell's lyte before the rode" in 1518. In 1514, 3d. was paid for "a cord to the shewyng off the crucyfix," and 1s. in 1519–20 "for a piece of smalle corde (or cloth?) for the rode-cloth." It is recorded that the rood images were removed early in the reign of Edward VI., but in the next reign a new rood with Mary and John was supplied at a cost of £6, 13s. 4d.; while, between 1554 and 1557, 3s. was paid to James Walker "for payntynge of a clothe that doeth cover the Roode in Lent," and a similar sum to James Calkett "for washing owth the scriptures (painted texts) owth of the clothe that hangyd before the roode lofte." On 24th May 1570 the final act of rood-loft demolition was consummated by the sale of the "sylinge of the roode-lofte," the rood-screen beneath being still allowed to stand, according to law. In 1582, however, the reformers illegally compassed the ruin of all the screens in the building, one, Henry

Findon, being occupied "one day's work in cutting down the partition between the church and the chauncel." Then followed the "cutting down the munions"—presumably the uprights—of the screens that stood in the body of the church. A reaction having set in early in the seventeenth century, £1, 11s. was paid to Richard Yevans, carver, "for work done about the screens betwixt the church and chancel" in 1615; but in less than thirty years' time—in 1644, to be exact—Puritanism was again in the ascendant, and a carpenter was busied in "taking down the screens between the church and chancel."

Palace of the Archbishops.—The chapel is divided into quire and antechapel by a carved timber screen, 25 feet long, of Renaissance design, bearing the arms of Archbishop Laud. The latter, in his account of the chapel, remarked that the screen "was just in the same place, where it now stands, from the very building of the chapel."

LEIGH.—Richard Arderne, by will dated 18th November 1499, bequeathed 13s. 4d. to make a "cote" for the "Rood of Rest." A note appended to the inventory of 6th October 1552 mentions the following items, negligently omitted from the previous inventory, viz. "a clothe that did hange before the rode" and "certen iron that the clothe did hange upon before the rode."

LEATHERHEAD.—The Aperdeley chantry in the south transept was enclosed by "a neat Gothic carved open wainscoting of oak," the greater part of which still existed when Manning and Bray wrote in 1804–14. According to Mr. W. Bolton's notes, of the year 1866, or earlier, "the screens remained in their proper place until lately, when the central one was sold, and the other portion carried to the west, and glazed, to keep off the draughts." This was probably the same screen-work to which Mr. André referred as still standing in 1891.

LIMPSFIELD.—"The end of the south aisle" was "enclosed by a wainscot partition" at the time when Manning and Bray wrote (1804–14). When the north aisle was built, in 1852, "steps were found in the thickness of the wall, which then formed the west wall of the chantry." These were no doubt the remains of the old rood-stairs. In 1871 a four-centred doorway, which must have led to the stair, was discovered on the north side of the chancel-arch. No upper door, however, issuing onto the rood-loft was found on the north side. Perceptible marks in the south spandrel of the chancel-arch (in 1865) showed the site of an aperture which must have formed either a second entrance to the rood-loft, or a means of transit from the latter to the upper chamber of the tower.

LINGFIELD.—Lady Uvedale, dying in 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light. The Edwardian inventory, dated 21st March 1549, enumerates "twenty-four cuppis of latten for the rodelofte to sett lightes upon." The rood-screen, occupying the chancel-arch, was 23 ft. 6 in. long. It was standing in 1844, according to Brayley, and was of the same pattern as the oak screens in line with it across the aisles. These two screens, together with two on each side of the quire, still remain, enclosing the north and south chapels —six screens in all. They are rectangular in construction; practically uniform and contemporaneous with the rebuilding of the church itself at the foundation of the collegiate body in 1431. All the screens stand about 10 ft. 6 in. high, with a wainscot about 4 ft. high. What the original of the latter may have been in design it is impossible to tell, because it has been either boxed in by modern woodwork, or removed altogether. The fenestration tracery is of a familiar type of Perpendicular—a cinquefoiled ogee, with narrow, vertical batements in the spandrels. The four side screens of the quire have all alike square Gothic pateras alternating with shields in the cavetto of the lintel, and are buttressed with square buttresses attached to the

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faces of the principal muntins towards the chapels. Their compartments, or lights, have an average centring of 1 ft. 4½ in.; the height from the middle rail to the cord-line varies from 3 ft. 8½ in. to 3 ft. 10½ in., and the head-tracery is from 12 to 12½ in. deep. The pair of screens in the westernmost arches of the quire contains eight lights each; the screen on the north being 12 ft. ¾ in. long, that on the south 11 ft. 6½ in. long. The pair of screens in the next arches eastward comprises a doorway east to west of five lights. The northern screen is 12 ft. 3 in. long, the doorway opening 4 ft. 1 in. wide; the southern screen is 10 ft. 8 in. long, the doorway 3 ft. 10 in. wide. The door-heads, cinquefoil cusped and feathered, with solid carved spandrels, rest on polygonal moulded caps, supported by cylindrical boutel-shafts. The wainscot of the northern screen has been cut out from below the middle rail downwards, and light iron bars inserted, so as to display the south side of a tomb standing close by in the north chapel. The wainscot of the southern screen also has been removed, its place being occupied by traceried panelling, which looks like the front of quire-stall desks.

The north aisle screen, 18 ft. 10 in. long, consists of a plain rectangular doorway, 4 ft. 10½ in. wide, between four lights on either hand. The south aisle screen, 14 ft. 2½ in. long, consists of three compartments on either side of the doorway, which is now blocked up with modern woodwork. The principal muntins of both screens are buttressed with shallow buttresses, crowned with crocketed pinnacles running up into the hollow of the lintel. The lights have an average centring of 1 ft. 5½ in., and head-tracery 14 in. deep. Along the top of the north aisle screen is sunk a series of mortice-holes, 7 in. by 3½ in., and centring at 25 in., some of them with the broken off stumps of timbers yet firmly pinned into them. The south aisle screen is similarly morticed; these marks representing the sole surviving traces of the ancient rood-loft.

The latter was entered from the north end, and, spanning the entire width of the building, measured 63 ft. long.

The rood-stair was contained in an external turret, projecting from the north wall between the third window from the east and the fourth from the west. The turret is polygonal, of two stages divided by a string-course, and is lit by two narrow rectangular loops. Its walls are of the same height as the aisle wall, and it is roofed with a polygonal roof, extending from the main roof, and, like the latter, covered with stone slabs. The interior of the staircase having been degraded into a coal-cellar in modern times, an external door has been improperly inserted in the north side of the turret. Both rood-stair doors within the church have been walled up, not a trace of the lower door showing, and no more than the outline of the upper doorway, which emerged, at the extreme east end of the north aisle wall, onto the top of the rood-loft. The splayed frame is partly filled up, so that its size can only approximately be ascertained as 2 ft. 8 in. wide by 6 ft. high to the crown of its four-centred arch. The threshold is nearly 13 ft. above the present floor level; and on the right hand side the outer moulding of the aisle arch respond being cut away to about 8 in. below the threshold, suggests that there was a descent of at least one step to the rood-loft platform from the rood-stair opening. In the south-east corner of the nave, at a height of about 4 ft. 6 in. above the capitals of the arcades, an iron hook is driven in, which, if mediæval, may well have served for making fast the cord that hoisted and lowered the rood-veil, or the light suspended before the rood. (June 1910.)

MALDON.—A wooden screen separated nave and chancel in the time of Manning and Bray (1804–14).

MERSTHAM.—Formerly the chancel was screened from the chapels by Perpendicular oak parcloses, whilst a screen of somewhat later work divided the north, or Elmebrugge chapel, from the north aisle of the nave. But those in power in 1861 had so little sense of responsibility as to entrust the old fabric to a local builder to "restore," the contract

containing a fatal clause by which he was authorised to appropriate all "old material." The inevitable consequence was that the church was stripped of its screen-work. It is said that Sir W. G. Hylton Jolliffe managed to recover part of the spoil, which he kept in his stables, whence it ultimately disappeared. A small amount of screen-work seems to have been replaced temporarily, for, about the year 1884, Rev. Dr. Cox noted "a poor, plain fifteenth century chancel-screen, and remains of a similar parclose"; which, however, have vanished once more. The only remnants of screen-work now (May 1910) left in the building are (1) four pieces of moulded muntins, 32 in. long each, egregiously worked into a "Gothic" umbrella-stand; and (2) more extensive fragments, incorporated into a sort of portico within the south door of the south, or Alderstead, chapel. This portico, standing 6 ft. 11 in. high, and having a plain wainscot 3 ft. 5 in. high, comprises in the fenestrated portion four Perpendicular traceried heads, 7 in. deep by 6 in. wide between the muntins, and a cusped segmental door-head, of the same depth at the cord-line as are the smaller pieces. It spans an opening only 2 ft. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, which shows that it could not have belonged to the principal screen, but to a parclose. The moulded lintel appears to be entirely modern. The rood-screen stood under the middle of the chancel-arch, which has an opening of 12 ft. 6 in. wide. Very evident marks of chiselling in the face of the south respond pillar—all the like marks in the north respond have been carefully filled up with cement—show the position of the lintel at about 8 ft. 4 in. from the chancel floor level. The chancel-arch is so lofty that there was ample room for the rood-figures below its apex. Manning and Bray (1804–14) give some interesting details of the ornament over the north aisle screen. It comprised "a carving of leaves, in the middle of which an angel holds a shield, and at each end is a shield, but the arms are not visible. Over that at the north end is a crest, a bird's or griffin's head, with wings; over that at the south end is another crest issuing out of a coronet." The

span of the arch in which this screen stood is 8 ft. 3 in., and down the south-east quoin a strip of masonry has been cut away for the fitting in of the timber screen. To the top of the lintel, 8 in. thick, and having a wide chamfer on the under-side, the height is 8 ft. 5 in. from the floor of the chapel. In the corresponding position in the north-east quoin only a small triangle of stone has been broken away for the screen-lintel. All marks of screen-work in the south aisle arch have been obliterated.

MICKLEHAM.—Out of the proceeds of the sale of a silver chalice, in August 1552, the churchwardens caused the rood-loft to be defaced. They paid 6s. "to Ambrose Turmore, goyner, for dressyng of the rodeloft for to tex and wryte upon," and 5s. 4d. to a mason "for bemefyllyng and levyling of the walls of the . . . church," *i.e.* for stopping up the unsightly gaps left in the walls by the extirpation of the rood-beam.

MITCHAM.—Owing to a defect in the manuscript record, the identity of the place cannot be proved absolutely; but all the circumstances warrant the conclusion that it was at Mitcham that the "roode clothe" was sold for 2s. to John Tegge, one of the churchwardens, in the reign of Edward VI.

MORTLAKE.—"A beme of tymber," sold in the first year of Edward VI., 1547, was most probably the rood-beam.

NEWDIGATE. — Eighteen "candylsteckes of pewther which stode before the rode loft" were sold by the churchwardens on 18th August 1549.

NUTFIELD.—"The nave is divided from the chancel by a wooden screen under an obtuse-pointed arch," wrote Manning and Bray in 1804–14. From Rev. Arthur Hussey's statement in 1842 that the building then held "some small remnants of screen-work," the inevitable inference is that the

existing rood-screen, which looks like early-fifteenth century work, can only to a limited extent be original.

OCKHAM.—Traces of the rood-stair remain on the north side of the chancel-arch. The rood most probably was fixed above the chancel-arch, against the nave's east wall, which is painted in similar motif to that of the tympanum at Warlingham, only without any angels.

OXTED.—Lady Uvedale, dying in 1487, left 20s. to the rood-light. The rood-stair remains at the east end of the south aisle, to south of the chancel-arch. (J. E. Morris, 1910.)

PUTTENHAM.—An inventory, dated 6th October 1552, includes "Item one roode cloth of stayned canvas."

PIRFORD.—The celure, or canopy of honour over the great rood, was minutely described in 1874 by Mr. T. G. Jackson, the architect under whose direction the church had been restored in 1869. "At the eastern part of the nave-roof exists a canted, or waggon ceiling, covering the three end rafters, and formed of wide feather-edged and grooved boarding, nailed to the under side of the rafters, and bordered with simple battlemented mouldings. That" it "never extended further westwards is proved by the fact that the battlemented bordering is carried up the vertical face of the third rafter from the wall, and is returned horizontally at the lowest break, or cant, in the roof, where the vertical plastering finished. . . . This ceiling is painted with yellow flowers and rosettes on a red ground. . . . The pattern is very hard to decipher, owing to the injury it has sustained from the lath and plaster . . . by which it was, until lately, concealed. . . . The back of" the rood-loft "was carried by the great tie-beam against the wall, and the front by a beam which has disappeared," though the mortices in which it rested "still exist in the wall-plates on each side."

REIGATE.—There are three oak screens, with doors complete, viz. the rood-screen in the chancel-arch, and screens in line with the former in the arches opening respectively from the north and south chapels into the body of the church. The screens are of rectangular construction, and of early-Perpendicular work, much renovated. They stand 11 feet high, exclusive of a modern cresting along the top. The cavetto of the lintels of the rood-screen and south chapel screen has square pateras, which, however, do not appear to be the originals. The jambs and end-uprights of all three screens are buttressed, the buttresses of the rood-screen and south screen being crowned with crocketed pinnacles (like those at Lingfield) running up into the lintel. The north chapel screen has lost its buttress pinnacles, if it ever had them. The fenestration tracery is of no unusual type. It is cinquefoil cusped throughout, the only variation being that, whereas the tracery of the rood-screen and north screen has three cusped batements in the upper part, the tracery of the south screen has four. The screens all alike present two features not quite ordinary. Firstly, the innermost order of the moulded muntins is returned along the top of the fenestration cill; and secondly, each section of the wainscot, whether of the doors or of the side parts, forms a single panel, with head-tracery, uniformly shaped in a series of cinquefoil cusped arches, and cut out of a board extending from side to side, the arches resting on shallow vertical mouldings, not spaced to correspond with the spacing of the open work above them. Thus the rood-screen doors comprise two lights each, over an arcade of three arches; while the sides of the same screen comprise four lights each (centring at from 13 to 14 inches) over an arcade of six arches (centring at 9 inches). In this connection it is significant that the screens are described by Manning and Bray, in 1804–14, as "plain boarded," that is, presumably, with untraceried wainscots. Moreover, they are known to have been restored some time before 1842 (on the authority of Hussey), and again during

the process of general restoration of the church by Sir Gilbert Scott, 1873–78. The wainscot of the rood-screen is 3 ft. 11 in. high, its head-tracery 7 in. deep. From the middle rail to the cord-line measures 4 ft. $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., and the fenestration tracery is 11 in. deep. The doorway has a clear opening of 5 ft. 1 in. wide, and the total length of the screen is 16 ft. 6 in.

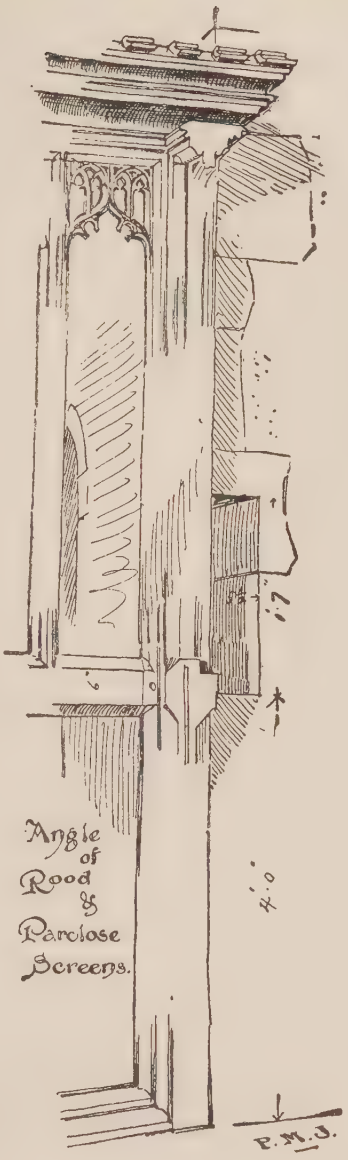
The north chapel screen is 10 ft. 5 in. long, and comprises three lights, centring at 13 inches, on either side of the two-light door, which has a clear opening of 2 ft. 6 in. wide. The fenestration tracery is 10 in. deep, and the wainscot 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Its tracery, 8 in. deep, comprises four arches on each side, and two in the door.

The south chapel screen is 13 ft. 2 in. long, and comprises four lights, centring at 14 inches on either side of the two-light door, which has a clear opening of 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. The fenestration tracery is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and the wainscot 3 ft. 11 in. high. Its tracery, 8 in. deep, comprises six arches on each side, and three in the door. Of this screen, all that portion south of the doorway is modern.

With reference to the screens, Rev. J. W. Pickance wrote in 1892: "In my memory an additional moulding has been added to the base . . . to hide decay, but it also hides a returned angle in the original base on the north side, at what seemed to be the starting-point . . . of the staircase to the destroyed rood-loft." The latter was 51 ft. 6 in. long, since it extended across the entire width of nave and aisles. Though the reason has not always been understood, there can be little doubt but that it was to provide for the gangway over the loft that the rebuilding of the easternmost arch of both the arcades of the nave, without any respond or impost at their abutment with the end piers, took place in the Perpendicular period. The east side of the easternmost arch on the north of the nave was then made to spring from a conspicuously higher level than the opposite side—a peculiarity which not even excessive restoration has availed to abolish. (July 1910.)

SEND.—The inventory of 6th October 1552 mentions "one old roode cloth for Lentt." The screening is peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of the building, which has an unaisled nave 31 ft. 6 in. wide, and a chancel some 14 ft. narrower than the nave, and no chancel-arch. The rood-screen, considerably restored, stands in the chancel opening. It is 17 ft. 7 in. long, and comprises six rectangular lights on each side of the doorway, itself including four lights over a depressed ogee arch—sixteen lights in all, centring at 11¾ in., and having Perpendicular tracery in the head to the depth of 10¼ in. The cutting off of the muntins from the middle rail up to within an inch or two of the cord-line constitutes a sad blemish, which the carved bosses that have been fixed to the pendent truncated ends do not avail to mitigate. The doorway opening is 3 ft. 6½ in. wide in the clear, and is fitted with an innermost order in the shape of a bead, which forms at the sides a boutel-shaft rising from polygonal moulded bases. This arrangement, if the original one, must have precluded the possibility of gates or doors to the entrance. Shallow buttresses are attached to the west face of the jambs. The height of the screen's side openings is 4 ft. 5 in. The height of the wainscot, which consists of one large, plain panel on each side of the doorway, is 4 ft. 2½ in. The screen stands 9 ft. high, exclusive of a modern embattled cornice. The principal upright at each end exhibits the marks of a lintel and moulded rail of a pair of return screens, which projected westward to fence a chapel, 7 ft. 10 in. wide, at the north-east corner of the nave, and another chapel, 6 ft. 1 in. wide, at the south-east. These screens were of the same design and date (about 1440–50), and formed together one organic scheme. [Of this rare arrangement a parallel instance occurs at Sall, in Norfolk.] At Send the absence of nave arcades enhanced the importance of these parcloses, as also it makes the loss of them the more deplorable. The chapels enclosed by them had no east windows, but were lit by a low window near the east end of each lateral wall of the nave. Another

feature to notice is that the quoin on either side of the chancel opening has been splayed away, at the level of about 4 ft. from the ground, to afford a sort of squint behind the rood-screen ends from the side altars to the high altar. A massive beam, supported on large braces springing from stone corbels, spans the chancel opening about 9 in. eastwards of the rood-screen, and at a height of about 16 ft. 4 in. from the ground. This is conjectured to have been the rood-beam, and is at any rate quite distinct from the tie-beams. The collar-beam of the westernmost truss of the chancel-roof, slightly to east of the rood-beam, is morticed along its under side for quarters, to which was probably attached a boarded background behind the rood-figures. (July 1910.)



SHALFORD.—Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, bequeathed 20s. to the rood-light.

SHERE.—Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light, and in 1515 John Ireland delivered 10s. as a

stock of money to maintain in the church two lights, of which one was to burn before the rood. The churchwardens' accounts show that the "rood-money" for the year April 1512 to April 1513 amounted to £3, 11s. 5d. In 1528–29, and subsequent years, special officers, called roodwardens, were appointed, in addition to the ordinary churchwardens. Between August 1502 and August 1503 4s. was paid for "cutting four loads of timber," and 4s. 1d. for the conveying of the same "from Vachery" (the principal farm belonging to Shere Manor) "to the churchyard of Shyre" for the purpose of "new makyng the rood-loft." A few years later a moiety of a sum of £22 in hand for church purposes is recorded to have been spent upon the rood-loft. The latter probably spanned the east end of the nave (19 ft. 3 in. wide) above, or in front of, the western crossing arch. There is no sign of any aperture leading into the loft, but a stone newel-stair (entered southwards under the tower, through a two-centred doorway, 2 ft. 2 in. wide by full 6 ft. high) is contained in the south-west pier of the tower, and would almost certainly be made to serve for rood-stair when the loft came to be introduced. The rood-screen was of an ordinary type of Perpendicular, and the Brandons refer to it as *in situ*, with doors complete, in 1846–47. Shortly afterwards it was broken up; and one who was employed in the work of destruction, an old man named Norton, now dead, used to describe the process to the present Rector, Rev. F. C. Hill. A water-colour drawing in the latter's possession shows the interior of the church, as it was previously to 1850, with a rectangularly constructed timber screen standing in the eastern crossing arch. However, the screen must, ere that date, have been curtailed to make it fit into the opening (11 ft. 5 in. wide) by the loss of two of its lights or compartments; for the drawing depicts six compartments on the south and only four on the north of the entrance—a spacing that can scarcely be regarded as in accord with the original scheme. Rising to the neck of the chancel-arch capitals, the screen

SHERE CHURCH: ROOD-SCREEN.

(From a sketch, *c.* 1845.)

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must have stood about 9 ft. 2 in. high from the present nave floor level. The opening to the chancel is depicted as without doors, and perfectly void of ornament in the head; the lintel as plain, without brattishing; and the wainscot as concealed by pewing on its west front. On the south-west of the eastern crossing arch, at a height of 30 in. from the nave floor, is a sunk cut, 5 in. high, for the insertion of timber-work, and there also remain the marks where part of the stonework of the chancel-arch toward the west has been chopped away, possibly in connection with the screen arrangement. In the top of the western crossing arch some of the stone has been cut through for the insertion of a vertical timber, and there is a similar cavity cut in the tie-beam immediately above the same arch. When Rev. F. C. Hill became Rector, in 1893, nothing of the nature of screen-work survived, except a solid partition, about 6 ft. 6 in. high, shutting off the north transept for a vestry. This woodwork consisted of two tiers of panels, the upper of which contained head-tracery that might have come from a Perpendicular screen, while the top was crowned by brattishing in a dilapidated condition, and apparently of late-Gothic date. The partition was alleged to be the remains of the rood-screen, notwithstanding the brattishing and the design of the panel-heads (as represented in a water-colour drawing, dated 1894, in the possession of the Rector) are inconsistent with the details in the other drawing above mentioned. Every trace of this partition unfortunately vanished at the restoration in 1894–95. (September 1910.)

SOUTHWARK.—*St. Mary Overie* (Priory of Austin Canons), surrendered 27th October 1539, and thenceforward known as the parish church of St. Saviour, until 1906, when it became the cathedral of a new diocese. An inventory, drawn up in obedience to an order, dated 18th September 1559, for the disposal of whatever yet remained of the ancient church goods, includes the item

of a "painted cloth which was before the Rood." Every trace of the ancient screening arrangements finally disappeared at the demolition of the nave in 1836; but excavations in 1890, on the occasion of the building of the present nave, revealed that the bases of the former piers of the western crossing had been smoothed away on the inner sides facing one another; whence it is to be inferred that the quire, with pulpitum, extended at least down to the western crossing, if no further. An engraved drawing by W. G. Moss, in 1817, depicts the post-Reformation organ loft, with a solid partition reaching thence up to the roof, at the third pair of pillars below the crossing, and such may well have been the site of the vanished pulpitum.

St. Mary Magdalene (parochial, formerly adjoining the south side of St. Mary Overie). Richard Knyvet, by will, dated 8th April 1497, directed that his body should be buried within the parish church "in such place . . . that the Cross there," *i.e.* the Rood, "shall stand on the right side of my burying."

St. Olave.—John Mockyng, by will, in November 1378, bequeathed 3s. 4d. "to the light of the holy Cross."

STOKE D'ABERNON (May 1910).—The rood-stair is contained, partly in the hollow of the wall on the north side of the chancel-arch, and partly in a polygonal structure built up in the south-west corner of the north chapel, that of Sir John Norbury, *circa* 1485–90. The entrance doorway of the staircase is 1 ft. 8 in. wide by 5 ft. 9 in. high to the crown of its four-centred head. The rebate round the front edge shows that the door swung outwards into the chapel. Within, the steps, furnished with slabs of timber for treads, have unusually high risers, and are very narrow, some mere triangular ledges, which afford but a precarious foothold. There is no method in their arrangement. They wind their tortuous course upward, without a newel, in the most inconvenient way imaginable. No one who has once scaled

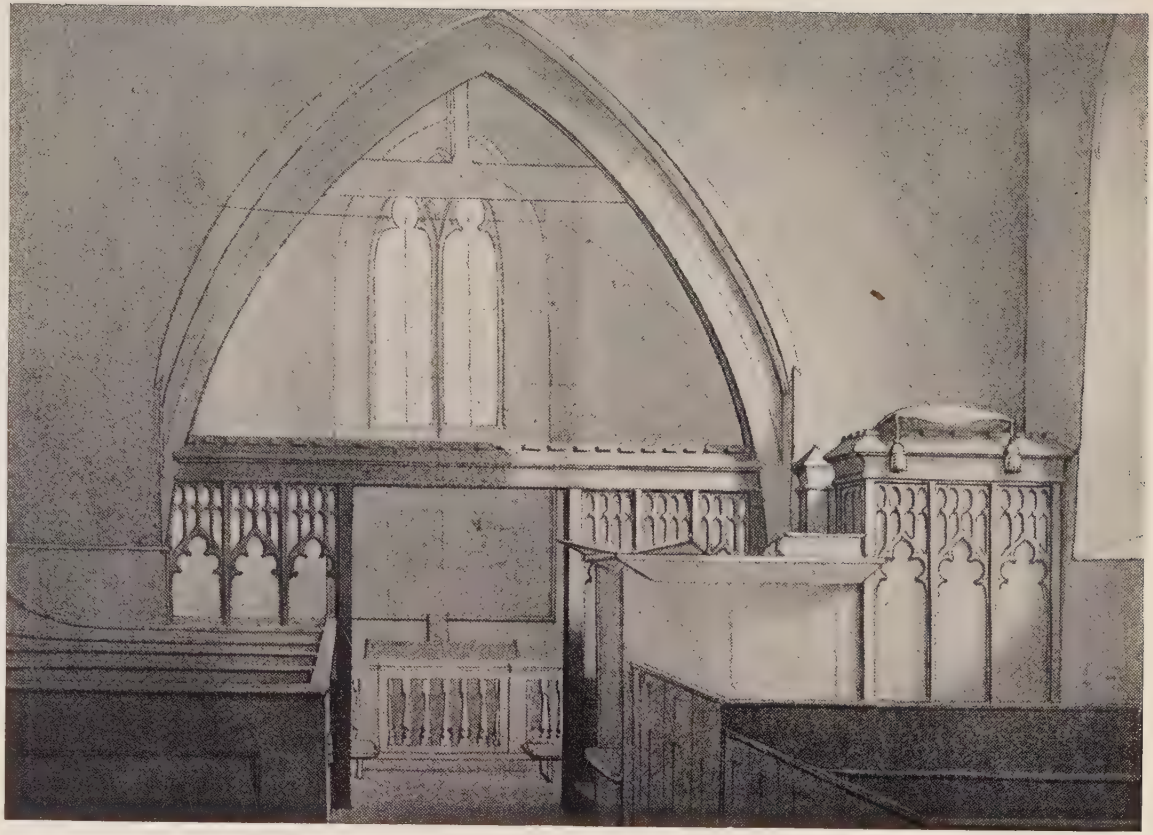
the stairway could maintain that this precipitous approach was practicable ceremonially for the sacred ministers in divine service. The stair emerges westwards in the north spandrel of the chancel-arch, through an arched opening, 1 ft. 9 in. wide, which is neither exactly two-centred nor four-centred, and which has a plain chamfer round the outer edge. The level of its present threshold, 32½ in. above the topmost step of the rood-stair, and very nearly 13 ft. above the nave floor, is fully 18 or 20 in. higher than it ought to be, the bottom part of the opening having been blocked (thus reducing the latter to 4 ft. 3 in. in height) in 1866, when a new chancel-arch was built, and the east wall of the nave generally falsified under pretence of restoration. The ancient rood-loft spanned the east end of the nave, which is 21 ft. 3 in. wide. Under the overhanging gallery stood an altar on each side of the chancel-arch. The piscina of that on the right hand side yet remains in the south wall of the nave; that on the left hand side was dedicated, in all probability, to St. Thomas of Canterbury, for the arched recess against which it stood contained a mural painting of the martyr, down to the above-mentioned year, 1866, when recess and painting were swept away together.

TATSFIELD.—Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light. Some time between 1548 and 1552, the dates of the taking of the two Edwardian inventories, the "rode clothe" was stolen out of the church, and never heard of again. A Perpendicular oak rood-screen, comprising six traceried compartments, *i.e.* three on each side of a square-headed entrance, stood in the chancel-arch. The late Edward Streatfeild's drawing, reproduced in the *Parish Register* of Tatsfield, edited by W. Bruce Bannerman (1906), shows that a pulpit at the south-east corner of the nave contained tracery which, being of the same design as that in the rood-screen, had probably been taken from the screen-doors. The screen itself is believed to have been removed about 1838, though, according to Brayley,

it was still *in situ* in 1844. A note in the *Ecclesiologist*, August 1850, says "half the rood-screen is lying in the vestry, and the other half is worked up into the pulpit, reading-pew, &c. A few shillings . . . would suffice to replace it in its completeness." Whence it would appear that, though the screen had then been taken down and dismembered, as yet none of the parts belonging to it were missing. However, all trace of it had disappeared by 1882, when the church was restored by the architect Streatfeild above-named.

THAMES DITTON.—At the east end of a stone structure of uncertain purpose, now standing under the arch between the chancel and north chapel, are the truncated remains of a stone projection, 6 ft. 4½ in. high, which, in 1878, Mr. Arthur Style suggested to have been a screen. The identification, however, is based merely on conjecture. The stonework appears to belong to the end of the fifteenth, or the early part of the sixteenth, century.

Nailed to the vestry walls are some twelve or thirteen oak boards, decorated with very rude painting of about the year 1520. They are 3 ft. 6 in. high, they vary in width from 11 in. to 15 in., and are tongued together at the vertical edges. To judge by the only loose board of the number, they are plain at the back, but scored with large Roman numerals as a guide to placing them in correct order. The slope of the upper end of some of them shows that they were meant to fit into an oblique-topped space, the interval, no doubt, between the canted ceiling and the tie-beam at the extreme east end of the nave, above the great rood. The king-post at this point differs from the others, inasmuch as the westward one of its fourways braces is omitted, expressly so as not to interfere with the plane of the painted boarding. The lofty situation of the latter rendered it out of reach of fanatical reformers, and thus it escaped being defaced by scratching out or painting over, and remained intact into the nineteenth century. The



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principal figure of the composition, probably Our Lord in Glory as Judge, is wanting, but there remain two half-kneeling angels in the act of censing towards a common centre. They are robed in unapparelled albs, with coloured stoles, and their brows are encircled by a metal fillet with a small cross rising out of the front. The ground at their feet is dark green, to represent grass, with bones and skulls lying about in it. The background consists of the natural oak surface, powdered with the sacred monogram in letters about 8 in. high, painted scarlet with black outline. Behind the head of the angel on the left is the sun, a disc with human features encircled by rays; while behind the angel on the right is the moon, a dark disc with a pale crescent on it. Within living memory there existed numbers more boards belonging to the series, which, having been turned out of the church through churchwarden ignorance, became dispersed and lost. Eventually the vicar of the parish tried to recover them, and as many as he could collect he caused to be fixed for safety in their present position, where they form a rare and interesting monument of the past. (July 1910.)

THURSLEY.—When Brayley wrote (1844), "an open-worked screen of oak" occupied the chancel-arch. Mr. Johnston has preserved the record of its condition at a later date in the drawing published in vol. xviii. of the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, where are shown the two sides of the wainscot, standing disjointed, without any gates, and cut down to the level of the middle rail. The work was of Perpendicular date, and was confined to plain boards and framing. It disappeared, presumably at the "restoration," in 1884–85, and nothing now remains of it but the ground-cill, re-worked. A fifteenth century moulded stone corbel, still fixed to the north-east corner of the nave, may have served to carry an upright or strut for the support of the rood-loft.

TITSEY.—Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light.

TOOTING.—"The communion-table," wrote Manning and Bray (1804–14), "is at the east end of the north aisle, the floor of which is raised two steps, and divided from the rest by a plain neat screen of two circular arches."

WALTON-ON-THE-HILL.—"The door to the rood-loft stair on the north of the chancel" still remains. (J. E. Morris, 1910.)

WANBOROUGH.—An oak rood-screen, 18 ft. 6 in. long, divides the building transversely into nave and chancel. The construction is rectangular, the entrance having a plain segmental-shaped door-head, and the side compartments having head-tracery which assimilates rather to a Decorated than to a Perpendicular type, although in point of date it is probably not older than the middle of the fifteenth century. The wainscot below consists of plain panelling, without tracery.

WANDSWORTH.—The churchwardens' accounts, extending over the critical period of the Reformation, furnish an interesting chronicle of the events connected with the rood and loft. Among payments for the year June 1546 to June 1547 occur 2d. "for mendinge and naylyng the Roodes Hedde," and 8d. "for skoringe (scouring) the Candillstyks and standers and all the bowles in both rode lofts." The last phrase presumably refers to the two sections of the rood-loft, viz. that across the nave, and a gangway in continuation across an aisle. That the bowls named were of latten and were twelve in number is stated in the inventory of 15th March 1548–49, which looks as though at first the churchwardens tried to foil the rapacity of the royal confiscator, for in the event it transpired that there was actually double the number of bowls, the accounts of

1550–51 showing that twenty-four "bowles serving in the Rode loft" were sold for the value of the brass metal. Meanwhile a gratuitous act of vandalism was perpetrated —gratuitous because it anticipated by twelve years the general order for rood-loft demolition. In 1548–49 the churchwardens were responsible "for takinge downe the Roode lofte and makinge the same in playne wale (wall) with bowrdes," and "for working vpp one hole in the rode lofte stone worke." A memorandum records the delivery of the rood-cloth to the painter on 14th May 1549, for what purpose is not stated, but probably that its ornament might be painted out or defaced. In 1551–52 a carpenter was employed to make "the ptycion (partition) in the chancell," this item of outlay being immediately followed by others for nails, hinges, and boards. It appears thence that, in place of the destroyed rood-loft, the chancel entrance was filled by a huge hoarding, on which were set up "the Scriptures, that is to saye . . . the Beatytudes, the ten commandments, the twelve articles of our belief, and the Lord's Prayer," with "the Kinges majesties armes." That this erection was condemned under Queen Mary is clear from an entry recording the sale, in 1553–54, of "the perticion in the chauncell and the dooure." This is succeeded by a long series of disbursements toward the undoing of the devastation of the late king's reign. In 1554–55, 6s. 5d. was "paide for the rowde clothe," 13d. for "quarters to nayle the saime clothe upon," 8d. "for makyng the frame for the Rowde," and 7d. "for nayles to the Rowde." These fittings must have been temporary expedients merely; for, in 1556–57, a new rood, with the attendant figures of Mary and John, were on order in Windsor, whither the churchwardens journeyed to inspect the work in progress. The cost of the same when finished was £5. Payments afterwards occur for "settyng up off the Rode with Mary and John," and "ffor a placnke (plank) that the Rode standit on with Mary and John." Moreover, "goynnars" (joiners) supplied a new rood-loft for £2, 6s. 8d., a "Boyme (beam)

to ye Rodloft" being purchased at Kingston for 4s., and "a pece off tymber to leynghtt (lengthen) the beme off the Rodloffte" costing 1s. The carpenters' work about the rood-loft occupied four days, and another workman took three days "to break the wall between the rood loft" and "to mend the wall." The explanation of this must be that a passage from one section of the loft to the other was tunnelled through a spandrel of the nave arcade, and the sides of the aperture duly made good with ashlar. The accounts further record the purchase of the upper beam (*i.e.* the handrail of the parapet) to the rood-loft; of half a hundred inch boards and quarters, and of ten great "spykyngs" to the rood-loft. Posts, seasoned boards, and great nails were bought for the rood-stairs, and seasoned boards and a pair of hinges for the rood-door, as also "nayles for the Rod loffte and that wente to the stayures." The payments to the "carpyntars ffor makkyng off the steyars and the dore" are then recorded; as well as the purchase of a "lamp that hangs before the rood, . . . a polle" (pulley), and "a cord to draw up the lamp" and oil for the same. "A wire to go over the chancel" was provided, presumably for the suspension of the "lenten clote be ffor ye Rode" (the "paynttyng" of which cloth cost 3s. 4d.), and lastly a cord "to draw up" the same cloth. The rood itself was abolished again in 1559–60, and the rood-loft in 1561–62.

WARLINGHAM. — Mr. P. M. Johnston has kindly supplied particulars of an interesting feature, which was wantonly destroyed in, or about, 1887, but not before he had made memoranda and sketches of it, in 1881. This consisted of a tympanum of lath and plaster, supported by a beam which rested on the wall plate at about 14 ft. 2 in. above the old floor level, and filling the space for the said beam up to the low, seven cant roof, a space narrowed to shallow dimensions by the upward curve of the beam itself. In the absence of a structural chancel-arch, the tympanum

defined the bounds of nave and chancel, beside doing service as a setting for the rood-figures; the surface surrounding which was crudely painted with angels' heads, as well as grapes, vine scrolls and leaves, with cinquefoils or rose-heads. This ornament was of fifteenth century character, and executed in olive-green and Indian-red on a buff ground. The greater part of the painting had already perished by 1881, yet enough was extant to enable the general scheme of it to be ascertained. When the plaster lining was stripped off the walls, in the course of the restoration by Mr. Johnston in 1893–94, there came to light, near the east jamb of the Perpendicular window in each side wall, and at about 7 ft. 3 in. above the old floor level, a square hole where the ends of a transverse beam had been inserted. The latter was conjectured to have been the rood-beam or the top of a low, and probably early, screen; but from its position, some 3 ft. to west of the site of the tympanum and rood-screen under it, must have been the breast-summer carrying forward the rood-loft front. The latter was 19 ft. long, the width of the church itself. The south porch (a structure apparently of the year 1678), being taken down by Mr. Johnston, there was found built into its roof a piece of timber, much mutilated and decayed, which, from the form of the mouldings, might possibly have been part of the ground-cill of the destroyed rood-screen. This cill measured 9 in. thick by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. A piscina in each side wall of the nave proves that (as far back as the thirteenth century, to which the piscinas themselves belong) two altars had stood in front of the rood-screen, one on each side of the chancel entrance.

WAVERLEY (Cistercian Abbey).—According to the internal arrangements of the church as completed between 1231 and 1278, the quire extended a little way west of the second pair of pillars below the western crossing, the remainder of the third bay of the nave being occupied by a stone pulpitum. The foundations of the latter, showing it

to have been a wall 7 ft. thick from east to west, were discovered when this portion of the ruins was excavated in 1901. On each side of the quire entrance a chapel was formed by screens, fencing the two altars which stood against the west front of the pulpitum. All these were dismantled at the dissolution in 1536.

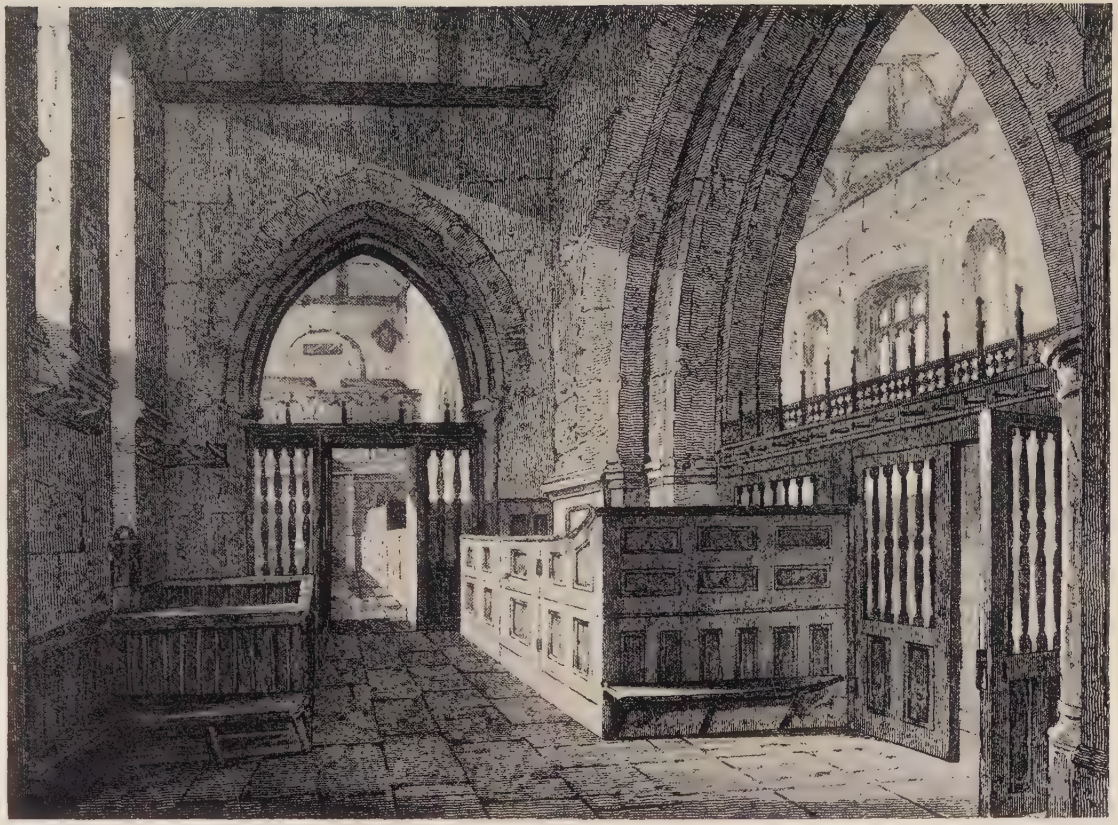
WIMBLEDON.—When Manning and Bray wrote (1804–14), the chancel (the only part of the old church then standing, the rest having been demolished in 1785) was "separated by a wooden screen."

WINDLESHAM. — According to an inventory dated 6th October 1552, "an old rood clothe" then remained.

WITLEY.—It is explicitly recorded, between 1820 and 1830, that Perpendicular oak parcloses of uniform design shut off the north chapel from the chancel on the south, and from the north transept on the west. By 1904 the first-mentioned screen had disappeared, and portions only of the original screen at the west of the chapel survived, incorporated with modern work.

WOKING.—At the meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society on 5th August 1874, Mr. Ralph Nevill traced the position of the rood-screen, the lower part of which was "still visible within some pews at the end of the chancel; while above the altar ran another portion elaborately carved." The "upper rood-loft door" remains. (J. E. Morris, 1910.)

WOLDINGHAM.—Lady Uvedale, dying 1489, left 20s. to the rood-light. According to Manning and Bray (1804–14), the interior was divided transversely by a wooden screen, about 17 ft. long, equal to the width of the building; but, by 1842, the screen was no more, the church having in the meantime been rebuilt.



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WONERSH.—The old church, previous to the reconstruction in 1793, had "a frame of wood," 42 ft. 6 in. long, extending transversely from side to side, and parting the north pace into nave and chancel, and the south pace into aisle and chapel. Mr. J. E. Morris (1910) draws attention to the "plain Perpendicular screen across the south chapel," and to the "rood-loft door on the north of the chancel-arch."

WOODMASTERNE.—Amongst a number of articles stolen out of the church by thieves at night in the fifth year of Edward VI. (1551) were "six bowles of latyn yn the rode lofte."

WORPLESDON.—A screen stood under the chancel-arch in the time of Manning and Bray (1804–14).

WOTTON.—A balustraded parclose screen, bearing the date 1632, separates the north chapel from the north aisle of the nave. An engraving, dated 1818, shows two such screens, one of them surmounted by a pierced parapet, which, with its quatrefoils and pinnacles, looks as though it were a work of the fifteenth century. However, T. Allom's version of the same in 1845, published in Brayley's *History*, makes the parapet appear contemporary with the rest of the screen.

In conclusion I have to acknowledge my obligations to the works of Aubrey, of Manning and Bray, of Brayley, and of Hussey; to writers in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, and in the second volume of the *Victoria County History of Surrey*, and to many contributors to the admirable *Surrey Archæological Collections*, especially Mr. R. A. Roberts, Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, who kindly furnished me with a copy of his very important printed Inventories. From Mr. J. E. Morris's volume in the new series of *County Churches* I have derived several items not previously recorded. Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., and Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A., have afforded me much valuable information at first hand. Special thanks are due to the Rector of Shere for courteous permission to photograph an unpublished drawing in his possession; to Mr. W. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A., for kindly lending me for reproduction a photograph of Tatsfield screen; to Mr. G. C. Druce for the use of his excellent photograph of Chelsham screen; to the

publishing house of B. T. Batsford for lending me for reproduction the late Mr. James West's drawings of Charlwood screen details; to the Surrey Archæological Society for the loan of a block to illustrate the screen at Send Church; and to the various clergy who have courteously allowed me to take photographs and measurements. Pressure of other work has prevented me from visiting as many churches as I could have wished. Nevertheless, my article comprises a far larger amount of material for the history of Surrey roods and screen-work than has ever hitherto been brought together in published form.

THE ROYAL RESIDENCES OF SURREY

By J. Tavenor-Perry

SURREY is remarkable among the counties of England not only for the number of the royal residences it has at one time or another contained within the somewhat narrow limits of its borders, but for having been at all times so favourite a place of resort for her monarchs that some of every dynasty in turn made their homes in buildings which they had raised or embellished in Surrey. From the Saxon kings to the last sovereign of the House of Hanover not a few of them have been intimately associated with their Surrey residences, and many of the most important domestic events in their lives have transpired within the walls of their Surrey palaces. Before the Tower of London was dreamt of, and when Windsor Castle was at most but an earthwork, Kennington Palace was already the home of the Danish kings, and its manor is still the heritage of the Prince of Wales; through the most stirring periods of our early history the Palace of Sheen was the stately residence of Plantagenets, Tudors and Stuarts, and the memories of it still linger in Richmond Great Park, which was laid out to be an adjunct to the palace; and while the great castle which George III. erected in his domain at Kew has been swept away by his unappreciating descendants, the secluded cottage, which was a favourite resort for his grand-daughter, Queen Victoria, may still be found, much as she left it, among the glades and wild flowers of the present park.

If the theory accepted by many be correct that Celtic London was situated on some of the islets which rose above

the tidal waters of the Thames among the fleets and marshes of the "Surrey side," the Palace of Kennington may have occupied the site of some British chieftain's hut; and it was certainly placed near the line of the ancient British trackway which led from Dover to the country north of the river by the ford between Lambeth and Westminster. At some time or another it became a place of residence for the Saxon kings, who perhaps erected a palace of the usual ephemeral character here; and in the Domesday, in which it is called Chenintune, it is described as in possession of one Theodoric, a goldsmith, who had held it of Edward the Confessor. The associations of the place were no doubt repellent to the last of the Saxon kings, since it was here that his half-brother and predecessor, Hardicanute, died in a drunken orgy; whilst his devotion to the rebuilding of the abbey across the water determined his residence in Middlesex. The alienation of the manor was, however, only of a temporary character, and when the early Plantagenets had ceased to erect their castles in France, we find Kennington was once more selected as a favourite place of residence. From the grant made of the manor in 1189 to Sir Robert Percy by Richard I., it is clear that it had not yet again become a royal abode, and his brother and successor, John, had neither time nor opportunity for castle-building, save in the air, so that it must have been to that great builder, Henry III., that the resumption of the place for a palace is due. And it is a curious circumstance to remark that, while it was the first great benefactor of the abbey who discarded, it was the second who refounded the Palace of Kennington. When the rebuilding took place is uncertain, but it must have been early in Henry's reign, and that on a considerable scale, as Hudson Turner, quoting from a Liberate Roll of his seventeenth year (1232), gives his direction "to cause that the chapel of our chamber be painted with histories, so that the field shall be of a green colour stencilled with gold stars."

Whether it was that Henry III. grew tired of this palace, or his son, Edward I., did not care to occupy it, seems uncertain, but by one or the other it was again alienated, although this and most of the subsequent alienations were but of a temporary character. It was first conveyed to John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, who died here in 1304, when it returned to the Crown; and later on it belonged to Roger de Amory, on whose attainder it reverted to Edward III. The king then appears to have resided here himself for a time, but it presently became the principal residence of his son, the Black Prince, who here witnessed the celebrated pageant provided by the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, which they gave for the amusement of the Prince's wife, Joan of Kent, and his son Richard, as described in Stow's *Survey of London*. Occasionally the residence of later sovereigns, the Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Henries having at times stayed in it, James I. settled it upon the Prince of Wales, and to this day several streets in Kennington go to swell the rent-roll of the present youthful holder of that title.

Of the buildings of the ancient palace not a vestige remains. The buildings of Hardicanute and the Confessor were perhaps mainly of timber; but from the account of Henry III.'s decorations, which we have quoted, it is evident that his palace must have been both extensive and substantial. James I., after one of the alienations, during which the buildings had become ruinous, rebuilt the manor-house in the solid Renaissance style of his period; and this building endured, a picturesque relic of the old palace, until 1875. And at this day its site, covered with mean streets, retaining no trace of its original importance, may with difficulty be discovered at the angle of Kennington Lane and Park Street, in the neighbourhood of Kennington Cross.

The story of the royal villa of Kingston, occupied by the Saxon kings during the greater part of the tenth century, rests only on a legendary basis, although the probabilities seem to be that there was such a building, and

that it formed the predecessor to or the nucleus of that castle or stronghold which Henry III. is said to have taken from De Montfort. The celebrated stone to be seen near the market-place may be the actual coronation chair of the kings from Edward the Elder to Ethelred, though that circumstance would not in itself prove the existence of a royal residence; and the history of Kingston in Saxon times must be looked for in the general history of the county.

Guildford Castle must be referred to here on account of the position it held among the royal residences of Surrey, although more detailed accounts of it will be given in another part of the volume. Placed in that gap in the North Downs through which the river Wey and the road from Regnum to London pass, it occupies the position of some early defensive works, of which the mound the keep now stands on formed an important part. It was among the possessions of King Alfred, and may at times have been his residence; and it was the scene of the traitorous capture of the Atheling Alfred by Earl Godwin, and the murder of most of his followers. The importance of its position was appreciated by William the Conqueror, who is said to have rebuilt the castle, which may be taken to mean that he fortified the mound and converted it into a shell keep. The present keep, which is erected on the ancient mound, though close to one edge of it, as is shown by our sketch (Fig. 1), was possibly rebuilt by Henry II., who, as well as his son John, resided at times at Guildford. The castle was no doubt damaged to some extent when, in 1267, it fell into the hands of Lewis of France; but it was restored and considerably embellished by Henry III., who very frequently made it his residence. The orders contained in the Liberate Rolls of his reign give the details of many such works and the uses to which the various additional buildings which he ordered were to be devoted, as, for instance, the building of a new chamber for his son Prince Edward in 1245. In 1255 we find that he had the pillars of the great hall repaired, and the next year he ordered the building of a

new gateway. In spite, however, of these many additions and reparations, the place did not recommend itself to Prince Edward as a residence when he became king, and he allowed it to become used as the common county gaol for Surrey and Sussex, in which unworthy use it remained

Fig. 1.—The Keep, Guildford Castle.

until the time of Henry VII.; and in the time of James I. it was aliened and ceased altogether to be a royal residence. The keep, which shows in our drawing, now stands some 78 feet in height, and it measures on plan from north to south 46 feet, and from east to west 63 feet; it has of late years undergone some repair to the lower part of the east wall, where it dips below the level of the mound, sufficiently thorough to render the venerable fabric safe.

The modern town of Richmond in Surrey, until the reign of Henry VII., rejoiced in the more pleasant and expressive name of Sheen, a variant of the Anglo-Saxon *schene* and the German *schön*, signifying fair and beautiful, a name still eminently descriptive of the locality. It is said, but seems to be very doubtful, that the Saxon kings had a villa here, but its history as a royal residence only begins with Edward I., who seems to have acquired the manor of Sheen only towards the latter part of his reign; and to him may perhaps be due the erection of the first palace. It was here, in some sort of a building at all events, after the death of Wallace in 1305, that he received the Scotch nobles fresh from their revolt; when he not only pardoned them, but re-entrusted them with the government of their country, thus anticipating by six hundred years the policy of his descendants and countrymen, who acted in the same way after the Boer War.

Apparently Sheen Palace was used both by Edward II. and Edward III., and the latter ended his days there under the most remarkable surroundings. Queen Philippa had died in 1369, and the remaining seven or eight years of the great king's life were clouded with misfortunes which culminated in the death of the Black Prince a year before his own. In his dotage he fell under the influence of Alice Perrers, a quondam lady of the chamber to Queen Philippa, who, not content with extracting from him all the wealth she was able, even to the jewels and chattels of the late queen, interfered in political affairs to such an extent that Parliament, in 1376, complained to Edward of her conduct. But her influence over the old king was unbounded. Already, in 1374, he had exhibited her at a splendid tournament in Smithfield seated by his side in a chariot, gorgeously apparelled, under the designation of the "Lady of the Sun"; and although the interference of Parliament caused for the moment a separation between them, on the king falling ill at Havering-atte-Bower, she immediately rejoined him and remained with him until his death at Sheen in June 1377. The scene which was witnessed in the old palace on that

occasion has been variously described, but it is generally admitted that he was deserted by all his attendants as well as by Alice Perrers herself. How far the charge made against her, of then stealing the rings from his fingers, was true, cannot now be decided, but immediately after the accession of Richard II. inquiry was made for the missing Crown jewels and various other valuables which had disappeared, and Alice with others was examined by the Commission appointed to deal with the matter, with the result that it was ordered that all goods, lands, and tenements in her possession should be forfeited to the Crown, and she should be banished the kingdom.

After the death of his grandfather Richard II. took up his residence at Sheen; and here died his first wife, Anne of Luxemburg, whose bronze effigy, as well as his own, were made in 1395, and set up in Westminster Abbey during his lifetime. The death of his queen is said to have so disgusted Richard with his palace of Sheen that he not only left it, but had it dismantled and in part destroyed. The building was, however, restored by Henry V., and became again a royal residence; but Edward IV. alienated it to his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, at whose death it again reverted to the Crown, and was taken possession of by Henry VII. in 1486. In 1499 it was to a great extent destroyed by fire; and though the subsequent restoration amounted practically to an entire rebuilding, the arrangements of the earlier plan appear to have been preserved. It was on the occasion of this rebuilding that the king altered the designation of the palace to "Richmond," to commemorate his earlier title; and by that name, which was gradually extended to the adjoining village, it has been known ever since. It was in this palace the king entertained Philip of Austria, the father of the Emperor Charles V., who had been wrecked on the coast; and here in 1499 died Henry himself, the first king of the House of Tudor.

The palace was again damaged by fire in 1509, but was

restored; and Henry VIII. entertained here the Emperor Charles V. in 1523. Henry continued to reside here until the surrender of Hampton Court in 1525, when he removed thither, and suffered Cardinal Wolsey, at least for a time, to occupy Richmond in exchange; but the king does not seem to have returned here, and spent the rest of his time in the various new palaces he built elsewhere.

Richmond was associated with the history of Queen Elizabeth throughout her long life; and, for a short time during her sister's reign, she was confined here as a prisoner. An incident related by Don Guzman de Silva, one of the Spanish ambassadors to the English Court, will give some idea of her mode of life at Richmond. It occurs early in her reign, in July 1564, the ambassador having been up the river to wait upon her, and he relates the story in a dispatch to Philip. He says the queen was in the garden—no doubt the terrace garden overlooking the Thames —when he arrived, but they presently went to supper, at which, we are informed, the band played the "Battle of Pavia." After supper, as it was then late, he thought it was time to take his leave, but the queen said he must not think of going, as there was a play to be acted, and after that there was to be a masque. When the spectacle was finished they adjourned to a saloon where a table was laid out with candied fruits and sweetmeats, and it was two in the morning before he could get away. Late as was the hour, the queen herself at the same time stepped into her barge and went down to Westminster.

Nearly forty years afterwards, within the same stately halls at the side of the same flashing river, the great queen passed away. "Sickening of a vague disease, she sought no aid from medicine, and finally refused to take food. She could not rest in her bed, but sat silent on cushions, staring into vacancy with fixed and stony eyes, and so at last she died."

The Stuarts occasionally resided in the palace, but during the time of the Commonwealth it was considerably

damaged and eventually sold; and the survey made of it, by order of the Parliament, for the purposes of valuation, have preserved a most complete account of the building before its destruction. But although this event was delayed for a time, and both Charles II. and James II. occasionally resided in it, the latter indeed making some additions, it went piecemeal, and its site is now covered with modern houses.

There are several engraved views of the palace as it stood in the time of Elizabeth, from which, with the aid of the written description given in the Parliamentary survey already mentioned, we are able to realise with some accuracy the appearance which this magnificent pile presented when in its prime; and the late Mr. W. H. Brewer published in the *Builder* for 1895 a most clever drawing embodying his conception of the design from a restoration he made based on these authorities. Of these perhaps the most important, for a general plan of the building, is Anthony van den Wyngaerde, whose two drawings, giving bird's-eye views taken from the east and west respectively, were made in 1562, and depict the palace as it appeared on the occasion of De Silva's visit related above. Besides these drawings there are other views taken before the buildings were interfered with, such as Hollar's engraving, dated 1638, and the one shown on Speed's map of Surrey, which supply many details missing in Wyngaerde's smaller views.

The palace stood on the western side of Richmond Green, stretching from that to the river, and extended along the river front from the Old Deer Park towards the present Richmond Bridge. The whole of the principal buildings were in wrought stonework, the roofs being covered with lead; and as the architectural features of the building were in the later phase of the Perpendicular style, they doubtless showed great richness in all their parts, particularly in the tracery, panelling and carving.

The river frontage consisted of a block of buildings three stories in height, each story containing a suite of twelve

rooms, embracing the privy apartments, all with deep embayed windows, which rose above into fourteen turrets, whose picturesque outlines and gilded vanes presented a remarkable sight to the country round. At the north end of this building was the lofty "canted" tower which contained four stories, and was considered the great ornament of the palace; while at the south end were situated the privy kitchen and a small house for the Friars Observant, who were attached to and served the royal chapel. Along the front of this main building, and skirting the river, extended a terraced garden overlooking the water, and at the side of it were steps down to the landing-stage.

To the eastward and behind the main structure extended two great buildings, one on the northern side containing the hall, and that on the southern side the chapel; each of these buildings was in two stories, the hall and the chapel being on the upper one in each case. The hall seems to have been a magnificent building, being 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, or practically of the same dimensions as the great hall of Hampton Court, which was probably imitated from it. At one end was the dais and at the other a gallery, the hearth being in the centre of the floor, with a louvred spire over it; and at the north-east angle of the hall was a turret for the clock. The chapel was nearly as large as the hall, being 96 feet by 30 feet; and at the date of the Parliamentary survey, when it had already perhaps been denuded of some of its fittings, mention is made of its stained-glass windows, "cathedral seats" or stalls, pews, pulpit and organ. There were a great many buildings of lesser importance grouped around these two, and a long building uniting them at their eastern end, and pierced by a gateway, enclosed an inner courtyard measuring 66 feet by 67 feet, which contained an ornamental fountain. On the north side of the hall were a number of domestic buildings having in the centre the great "livery kitchen," covered with a lofty spire-like leaded roof.

Between the main buildings and the green was another

large quadrangle measuring nearly 200 feet square, surrounded with offices of various sorts in two stories, pierced by another gateway opposite the first, and erected generally

Fig. 2.—Outer Gateway, Sheen Palace.

of brick. The scanty existing remains of the palace consist of this outer gateway, which bears over it the arms of Henry VII., and a portion of the outer range of buildings to the south of it (Fig. 2), while behind it is a piece of the addition made by James II., in what is now known as the

"Wardrobe Court" (Fig. 3). It may be mentioned that the monastic buildings of Sheen Priory, founded by Henry V., were quite distinct from the palace, and stood to the north-

Fig. 3.—Wardrobe Court, Sheen Palace.

ward in the Old Deer Park, but no trace of them now remains.

It was while Charles I. was residing at Richmond Palace that he conceived the idea of enclosing the great area, now known as Richmond New Park, and stocking it with red and fallow deer for sporting purposes; and his high-handed

proceedings towards some of the freeholders whose land he enclosed within his brick wall of eleven miles compass, added not a little to his unpopularity. The enclosure at the time of the Commonwealth passed into possession of the citizens of London, and was by them reconveyed to Charles II. on his restoration. There does not appear to have been any royal residence within the Park until the Princess Amelia became Ranger in 1767, when she added two wings to an existing building, and formed what is now known as the "White Lodge." This was from time to time occupied by different members of the royal family, and, after the death of the Duchess of Kent, by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort; and finally, having been granted to the Duchess of Teck, was for many years the home of our present Queen Mary.

Henry VIII. appears to have built at some time a palace by Weybridge, in Oatlands Park, but its name does not occur in the list of the palaces built or repaired by him as given by Papworth in *Gwilt's Encyclopædia*. It became a favourite residence with Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., for whom considerable alterations were made by Inigo Jones; and while Charles I. and his queen were in residence here in 1640 their son "Henry of Oatlands," the Duke of Gloucester, was born. It was to a great extent destroyed during the civil wars, and never again became a royal residence, except that the Duke and Duchess of York resided for a time in a house, now an hotel, within the grounds.

The most important of all the houses which Henry VIII. erected, and which Vasari, to whom its fame was not unknown, calls his principal palace, was the wonderful structure which deservedly earned the appellation of "Nonsuch." There was nothing remarkable in the site selected either for its associations or its beauty to call for the erection thereon of a royal residence; and it would seem as if the scheme was altogether a freak of fancy suggested to the king perhaps by the fact that he had got hold of an incomparable

artist in the manipulation of stucco-dura, and wished to give him every opportunity for exercising his craft. This remarkable man was Toto dell Nunziata, a pupil of Ghirlandaio's, who had developed a special talent for architecture; and who had derived his nickname of "Nunziata" from the fact that his father's *bottega* supplied all the imagery with which the Feast of the Annunciation was annually set forth at Florence. Toto had worked under Primaticcio on the wonderful stucco reliefs of the Palace of Fontainebleau, the fame of which had doubtless reached the ears of Henry; and some idea of rivalling this work and that of the Château of Madrid by Paris, where Francis I. had had the external walls decorated with della Robbia ware, induced the king to begin this curious structure and give his architect a free hand.

The site selected for the building was the little village of Cuddington, between Ewell and Cheam, which was removed, church and all, to make room for it; and the works were only commenced in 1538, or eight years before the king's death, and seem to have been from the first more or less under the direction of the Earl of Arundel. The portion commenced by the king was the south quadrangle, which measured some 116 feet by 137 feet, and was surrounded by a range of buildings two stories high, constructed of half timber, the panels being filled in with decorative stucco-work. The south front, which contained all the state rooms, had at each end a lofty tower with an overhanging story surmounted by a leaded dome; and in the centre of the front was a great bay window. Such a description of building might be thought to have presented but little to distinguish it from the ordinary buildings of the day, but it was the manner in which the details were conceived and executed that the remarkable character of the work lay; and any one acquainted with the stucco work of Primaticcio in the *galerie de François* 1er at Fontainebleau can imagine what the almost innumerable panels of life-sized sculpture with which the walls of Nonsuch were

decorated looked like, and regret with John Evelyn that they had not been placed in some position where they could have been preserved. Not only were the panels filled with this wonderful imagery, but all the timber-work, which in

Fig. 4.—An Impression of Nonsuch.

an ordinary building would have been left exposed, was covered with scales of lead so richly gilt that Pepys saw the gold on them when he visited the building in 1665 (Fig. 4).

The structure was far from complete at the death of the

king, and remained for some years in an unfinished condition, until the Earl of Arundel obtained a grant of it from Queen Mary, and proceeded to complete it according to the original meaning and intent of his late master; and subsequently Arundel's son-in-law, Lord Lumley, added another quadrangle measuring 150 feet by 132 feet, surrounded by stone buildings, and so completed the building. It reverted, however, to the Crown, and was frequently occupied by Queen Elizabeth, as well as by her Stuart successors, but finally it got into the possession of the notorious Lady Castlemaine, Duchess of Cleveland, by whom it was sacrificed, as so much old material, for what it would fetch. Not a stone of it remains above ground; and save for a mantelpiece at Reigate Priory, which tradition says Holbein designed for Nonsuch, not a vestige of that ephemeral wonder is to be found.

The house at Wimbledon, which Fuller described as "a daring structure, nearly equal to Nonsuch," was erected in 1588 for Sir Thomas Cecil, perhaps from the design of John Thorpe, in whose manuscript volume a plan of it appears inscribed "Wymbledon, an house standing on the edge of an hie hill." The house contained on the ground floor a stone gallery 108 feet long, pillared and arched in grey marble, with a most elaborate plastered ceiling and a floor of black and white marble. Being placed on the side of a hill, it had the approach to the hall door by seventy stone steps leading up gradually to five separate terraces paved with red Flemish bricks; and it must have presented a very imposing appearance from the lower ground. The house was but for a short time a royal residence, having only been purchased in 1638 for Queen Henrietta Maria, and it did not return to royal occupation after the Restoration, but was pulled down early in the eighteenth century.

After the departure from this country of James II. Surrey was without a royal residence until Frederick, Prince of Wales, came to reside about 1730 at Kew House, then the property of the Capel family, where he

died in 1751; but his widow, the Princess Dowager, continued to reside there, and developed the land round the house into the beautiful gardens which are now the charm of the place. She employed the famous Kent, who in this case, fortunately, had no formal gardens to destroy, to turn the ground, which was one dead flat of barren soil, without either wood or water, into a blooming landscape; and, to quote a contemporary writer, "princely magnificence, guided

Fig. 5.—Kew Palace.

by a director equally skilled in cultivating the earth, and in the politer arts, overcame all difficulties, and what was once a desert is now an Eden." Kent called to his assistance Sir William Chambers, who provided the suitable ruins and temples, many of which still adorn the grounds; and it was he who in 1762 reared the great Chinese pagoda which has been a wonder and delight to many generations. It is not, as many suppose, a mere freak of fancy to place such a tower in a royal garden, since it was considered a fashionable necessity of the period to have a gazeabo or tall tower from which to regard the affairs of one's neighbours; and

not only in England but in France every park was provided with its "Tour de Marlbrugh," and one may be seen to this day by the lake of the little Trianon at Versailles.

While the Princess Dowager was at Kew House, Queen Caroline came to live at a neighbouring house, which is the one now called the Palace (Fig. 5). This was a fine red-brick building erected by a Dutch merchant, Sir Hugh Portman, perhaps early in the seventeenth century; and it

Fig. 6.—"The Queen's Cottage," Kew.

was to this house that George III. and Charlotte removed after old Kew House had been pulled down to make room for the king's new castle, and herein the queen died. But the great castle which the king erected from the designs of Wyatt on the banks of the river, with its central square keep and double circuit of walls and round towers, his son George IV. pulled down again almost before the mortar was set; and the only remains of royal architecture left is the picturesque cottage built by Queen Charlotte in a remote part of the park, and last occupied by Queen Victoria (Fig. 6).

From the days of the Heptarchy until the close of the

nineteenth century Surrey was rarely without one royal residence at least; but our present dynasty has not yet found a home within its borders. The talk of acquiring a new country house for the sovereign has already become common; and perhaps the memory of the Surrey airs which she breathed in her own youth may induce Queen Mary to look for a home for her children among the Surrey hills.

THE FORTUNES OF LAMBETH PALACE

By S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A.

"I LOVE this old house, and am very desirous of amusing myself, if I could find means to do it, with the history of its building." So wrote Archbishop Herring about Croydon Palace in 1754, and the remark might equally apply to Lambeth. More than a century and a half has passed since that time, and strangers still look with curiosity on the time-honoured walls of the Palace by the Thames, eager to learn more of its long and varied annals.

What brought the Archbishops to Lambeth is far distant history, to be found in the records of the manor of Lambeth. In the twelfth century, the manor was held by the Bishop and Convent of Rochester, and in 1197 Archbishop Hubert FitzWalter acquired it in exchange for that of Darenth in Kent. The original documents relating to the exchange are preserved in two parts, one being in the archives of Lambeth Palace, the other with the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. The exchange was effected by Archbishop Hubert and Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, who was also Rector of Lambeth. Many circumstances led to the adoption of Lambeth as the home of the Primates. The old Palace of Westminster was close at hand, and London became more the centre of government, as Winchester had been in earlier times. Moreover, the river was the highway for traffic. A horse-ferry at Lambeth existed for public transit—an approach surviving in the name of Horseferry Road. Landing "stairs" were frequent on the Thames shore, and Stangate "stairs," built by Bishop

John de Sheppey (Rochester) in 1357, served as another cross-passage — the name Stangate remains as a slight memorial of the past. Around the manor-house of the Primates were low-lying lands, where game and wild-fowl were plentiful, and in Queen Elizabeth's reign we read that the famous Dr. Perne, Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, who lived at Stockwell, had a licence for taking game in this district.

Kennington, once a royal domain, was near at hand, while Rochester Place, or "La Place," was the home of the Bishops of Rochester till the attainder of Bishop Fisher in 1535. The Thames also abounded in fish, and Bishop Gundulph (Rochester) is said to have ordered large supplies to be sent yearly for his use and for that of his attendant monks.

Southwark also was a neighbour, with its church of St. Mary Overie, adjoining Winchester House, the Bishop of Winchester's town residence, with park and gardens, on ground now covered by warehouses and dreary rows of houses. Park Street, Southwark, recalls memories of these far-off times.

It is but reasonable to presume that "Lambeth House," as then called, should come into prominence—growing from a small group of buildings to the stately and picturesque pile of to-day. This structure, the work of successive prelates, who either built portions or repaired and added to what already existed, links us indeed with every period in the life of Church and nation. In Tudor days, when many old mansions were the comment of native and foreigner alike, Lambeth and around "became very much the resort of the nobles of Henry's Court, and was considered a very pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens, sloping down to the banks of the Thames." [1]

An early name in the annals of Lambeth House is that of Archbisop Boniface of Savoy, who is credited with some

[1] Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, vol. iii.

part of the chapel, and who laid the foundation of the Great Hall. Portions of olden Lambeth then standing had fallen into decay, and a Bull of Pope Urban called upon this prelate "either to repair his houses at Lambeth or to build new ones." This militant churchman is remembered by his attack on the prior and monks of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, at the visitation of that priory. The enraged London citizens followed the archbishop and his men to Lambeth, where much damage was done by the latter to the palace buildings.

The archbishop's brother, Peter of Savoy, built the old Savoy Palace, of which nought but the chapel remains. The Primate himself died abroad, where a fine monument in the Abbey of Hautcombe, on Lac Bourget in Savoy, is placed to his memory.

A name of note was Archbishop Chichele, founder of All Souls College, Oxford, a great promoter of learning. To him is assigned the erection of the so-called "Water Tower," or by others named the "Lollard's Tower." The "steward's accounts" of the building, preserved among the Lambeth archives, mention that between 1421–41 Chichele spent £278 on the work, a much greater sum in those days.

On the outside of Chichele's Tower, facing the river front, a canopied niche (now empty) formerly held the figure of Thomas à Becket, to whom passing vessels on the Thames used to lower their sails in reverence.

Archbishop Chichele, besides repairing many parts of Lambeth, now much increased in size, built the Great Hall, mentioned in the above-named accounts as "Magna Aula."

The hall (now the public library) was rebuilt after its destruction in the Civil War by Dr. Juxon (1663), and the magnificent roof, copied from Chichele's design, is an example of the hammer beam construction, recalling a similar style at Hampton Court and Eltham Palace. Engravings after Hollar of Chichele's Hall and by later artists are to be seen occasionally.

One of the most beautiful tombs in Canterbury Cathedral

is of this Primate, who built the south-west tower of the cathedral.

Another name is that of Cardinal Morton, whose noble Gateway Tower greets us on our entrance to this historic palace. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Ely (1479–86), may truly be called the builder bishop of the fifteenth century.

When Bishop of Ely, he erected a brick tower on the site of the ruined Wisbeach Castle, whence he might better supervise his great enterprise of embanking the fen waters in the marshland districts between Ely and Peterborough.

His town residence, Ely House, in Holborn, has a long past; the beautiful chapel, though much altered, still exists; and this relic of old London is recalled to us in the words of Shakespeare:—

> "My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
> I do beseech you send for some of them."
>
> *Richard III.*

Besides the Lambeth gatehouse or Morton's Tower, this Primate repaired his manor-houses at Knole, Maidstone, and Charing. With Prior Goldstone he is credited with some work on the Angel Steeple (otherwise called Bell Harry Tower) at Canterbury, and he is said to have been a benefactor to old Rochester Bridge.

Chancellor and adviser to the throne, this archbishop encouraged art and learning, and it is a known fact that the subjects and designs for the windows of that time in the chapel of Lambeth were due to him.

The storied panes of rich glass of that period told of the types and antitypes of Scripture, and became, as it were, Scripture lesson books; and these subjects, after four centuries, have been reproduced in the present windows.

Decay and destruction of the original glass of Morton's time, during the Civil War and after, left these windows in a disastrous state. Their renewal and the artistic decoration of the chapel in 1883 is due to the liberality of Archbishop Tait, aided by several of the American bishops.

Morton's Tower is a fine example of the early Tudor style, and may be compared with similar work at Layer Marney in Essex, Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, and St. John's College, Cambridge.

There is in this Lambeth gateway a semblance of the union of defensive and domestic architecture, for the two lofty towers may well claim to be a guard as well as a pleasing example of the period. The inner roof of this gateway has some fine groining, and on the square-headed water-pipe appears the figure of a tun with the letter M thereon — the rebus of the builder's name (Morton) — a frequent and quaint fashion in mediæval and later buildings.

A fine apartment over this tower is said to have been Cardinal Morton's chamber, or possibly audience room, where this archbishop received visitors, bent on state or private errand.

It is singular that of so famous a Primate no actual portrait exists. A supposed likeness is to be seen on a panel painting in Plymtree Church, Devon, representing Henry the Seventh, Prince Arthur, and the archbishop.

We might thus conjecture that Morton had some hand in this church, as it is known that the fine roof of Bere Regis Church, Dorset, claims to be one of his many architectural undertakings. During the Tudor days renewal and repair of the palace and its surroundings went on, and when we come to Cardinal Pole's time, we learn that his cousin, Queen Mary, had several apartments renewed and hung with tapestry. To this prelate is attributed the erection of the once standing cloisters over which galleries were built, once the home of the famous library. The very configuration of the buildings invites inquiry, though their position is changed from olden times.

A visit to the Cardinal from Philip and Mary was not infrequent, and it is said that Pole had a royal grant to keep one hundred servants, and, besides the chaplains and gentlemen ushers, we read of a treasurer, comptroller, groom of the chamber, steward, and subordinates.

The Cloisters, with Part of the Guard-room and Chapel.

A tradition connects Cardinal Pole with planting some fig-trees against the walls of ancient Lambeth. These trees were of great height, but were removed on the rebuilding of the palace in 1829. Cuttings taken from them, long grown into trees, now flourish between the buttresses of Juxon's Hall (the present library).

One November day in 1553 the Cardinal arrived at Lambeth, landing in his barge from Westminster after a loyal reception by the queen at Whitehall. Of that historic scene, witnessed by a crowded throng, Dean Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops*, wrote: "The sun shining down on the splendid thoroughfare of London—the silvery Thames, . . . no street in Europe could compare with this water highway."

The Thames was then the great main way. The dearth of conveyance in the streets is alluded to by John Taylor, the water poet:—

> "When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne
> A coach in England was scarcely known."

During the tenure of Lambeth from the days of Archbishop Parker (1559) to that of Dr. Abbot (1611–33), there is little to chronicle as regards addition or alteration to the main fabric, though many events occurred in those momentous times.

With the advent of Archbishop Laud several architectural changes took place. The late Renaissance screen in the chapel, with the arms thereon of that prelate, as well as the repair of the stained glass in the chapel, are of this period. Of the state of the windows the archbishop's own words testify. They were "so peeced and quite out of order and reparation that it grieved his very heart to see them in such a condition." The repair of these windows and the insertion of subjects, some restored from the dilapidated remains of the glass in Morton's time, formed one of the indictments in the trial of the archbishop. The whole controversy on this matter is fully discussed in Prynne's

"*Canterburies Doom.*" Reference is also made in the *Diary of the Archbishop.*

Laud's farewell to Lambeth, from evening prayer in the chapel to leaving by his barge which conveyed him on the

Carved Panel from Screen in Chapel.

silent river stream to the ill-fated Tower, is truly an episode of history.

Several other architectural works are connected with this prelate. The famous quadrangle at his own college (St. John's, Oxford) has the impress of his hand. He was also associated with the repairs of St. Paul's Cathedral,

when Inigo Jones designed the classic portico to its western façade. The chapel in Croydon Palace also claims notice in the woodwork placed there by him and his successor Archbishop Juxon, both of whose arms appear on the ends of the stalls. Some of the city churches, as All Hallows', Barking, and St. Catherine Cree, are linked with his name. Another building in which this prelate was interested was the palace of Cuddesdon, whose erection is said to be owing to his influence.

Grotesque from Library.

His own diary states in 1635, "I was in attendance with the King at Woodstock, and went from thence to Cuddesdon to see the house." The mansion, destroyed in the Civil War, was rebuilt in 1679 by Dr. Fell on the site of the old structure.

The Laudian period witnessed many a striking incident at Lambeth, none more eventful than when the war cloud was looming over England, and the archbishop's course of action was much censured.

In that charming romance, *John Inglesant*, we get a vivid portraiture of the time. "Inglesant was ushered into the great hall where dinner was laid, many gentlemen and clergymen standing about and around the tables, waiting for the Archbishop." Laud specially noticed Inglesant, whom he led to one of the windows, and the conversation turned on the Scotch rebellion of 1642. From the river outlook Inglesant speaks of the "wonderful view up and down the palaces and gardens, churches and steeples on the bank." Lord Clarendon also visited the archbishop, and this famous interview is associated with a part of the old

garden called "Clarendon's Walk," which no longer can be identified.

That statesman remarked the "people were discontented, and blamed the primate as the cause of all that was amiss, and tried to dissuade him from his course of action."

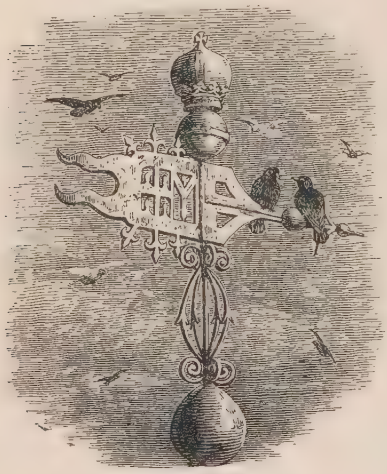
It has been said that Laud continued blind to the need of giving play to the diverse elements which make up the National Church, and thus alienated many who would have stood by him in that dire rebellion time.

Carved Bracket from Library.

While oblivious of great results, this archbishop was a keen observer of many interesting occurrences. He notes in November 1635, "at afternoon the greatest tide that hath been seen, it came within my gates, walks, cloisters, and stables." Superstition also formed a part of his character, as when he wrote in his Diary (1640) on entering his upper study, "where hung my picture taken by the life, and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged." "I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament: God grant this be no omen." This likeness by Vandyke is one of the choice historical pictures in the Lambeth portrait gallery of to-day.

The name of William Juxon, Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop (1660–63), is prominent as the rebuilder of the Great Hall (now library), destroyed during the Civil War; the same prelate, on his accession, found the palace "a heap of ruins." The hall, under his care, arose,

phœnix-like, from its fall, to perpetuate the style that Archbishop Chichele had adopted in the first building, and to show how the lingering taste for Gothic, survived late on into the seventeenth century. So imbued was Juxon with the desire to retain the features of the earlier structure that he made provision in his will: "If I happen to die before the Hall at Lambeth be finished, my executor to be at the charge of finishing it, according to the model made of it, if my successor give leave."



Vane over Juxon's Hall.

Though a debased Gothic feeling pervades the structure, late Renaissance features are visible in the grotesques and other details.

The river front decoration is striking and elegant. Festoons give variety to the massive stone buttresses, contrasting with the mellowed brickwork of the outer walls.

Above the roof rises the weather vane, of ornamental ironwork, bearing the arms of Archbishop Juxon.

In 1665 Pepys visited Lambeth, and relates "he walked and viewed the new old-fashioned hall." His brother diarist, John Evelyn, visited Archbishop Sheldon, and saw what he called the "new old hall" lately begun and finished.

In later years the hall was panelled to some height and the floor paved, as appears by an entry in the time of Archbishop Wake (1737), for "making good the marble and other paving in the great hall." The use made of this rebuilt hall was not so frequent after the eighteenth century—the custom of daily dining and entertainment in such halls had long fallen

The Library, Lambeth Palace.

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WANDSWORTH, S.W.

into disuse. It was in the earlier and destroyed building that we read of banquets, given by Archbishops Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift to Queen Elizabeth, and the daily hospitality offered to noblemen, strangers, and clergy. Whitgift is also remembered by the erection in 1599 of his hospital at Croydon for the poor; also a school, whose benefits are now widely extended. Besides entertainment in the earlier hall, councils and convocation assemblies were held, and the Convention for drawing up the so-called Lambeth Articles took place here.

In short, the historic annals of the palace are closely interwoven with this and every part of the building, even down to 1908, when the fifth great Pan-Anglican Conference took place in Juxon's time-honoured hall. Of the changed conditions of old buildings to present wants, Archbishop Tait wrote: "We may see a frequent example of the power of adaptation to the varying circumstances of the nation's life in the use to which Juxon's great hall and the adjoining guard-room are put to-day in offering abundant space for larger gatherings of clergy and laity."

The guard-room, a needful appendage to a large house in lawless times, is mentioned under the name of "Camera Armigerorum" in the fifteenth century.

Men-at-arms formerly guarded the archbishop's person and property, and this room served such a purpose till it was changed into a kind of armoury, and old weapons replaced the once living persons. In 1642 an interesting reference to this armoury occurs in Laud's famous diary: "Captain Royden and his company by order of Parliament came to my house to take away my arms. They staid there all night, and searched every room, and where any key was not ready broke open doors, and next morning carried my arms away to the Guildhall . . . they gave out in London there were arms for 10,000 men, whereas there was not enough for 200; the arms I bought of my predecessor's executors, only some I was forced to mend, the fashion of arms being changed." Some armour remained here till Archbishop

Potter's time (1737–47), and a few examples are still preserved in the palace.

While great alterations were made to the palace in 1829, the original timber roof of the guard-room remains, though modern panelling has taken the place of old, and this room now serves as the State dining-room. In the changes above made, the cloisters of the time of Cardinal Pole which formed a quadrangle between the chapel and the guard-room were destroyed. To-day a better appreciation of old work exists; history in stone is more respected, and the words of the Hon. James Bryce recur to us in all their force: "An ancient building had a value to the historian; it communicated to him the influences which had been at play upon those who lived, toiled, and battled; there is no kind of historical evidence so certain as that supplied by it."

From the galleries above these cloisters, Queen Elizabeth heard a sermon from Dr. Pearce in 1573—the nobles and courtiers listening to it around, while the people divided their attention between her Majesty and the preacher.

Much literary interest attaches to these galleries, for they were the home of the famous MSS. and books before their transference to Juxon's Hall. In this cloistered seclusion John Foxe, the martyrologist; Stow, the antiquary; Strype, the historian; Wharton, Bishop Gibson, and other learned men spent many a day in deep research. Truly has Lambeth been enshrined with long and treasured memories of men and events, a fact to which Leigh Hunt's words might justly apply: "I have never found myself the worse for seeing places rendered interesting by great men and their works, yet the better. . . . I seem to have walked, talked, suffered, and enjoyed with them."

The union of ecclesiastical with civil power enjoyed by the archbishops in old days naturally caused Lambeth to be the resort of many distinguished in the State, by learning, or on other grounds. Thus we hear of royal visits. Henry the Eighth came in his barge to see his chaplain and friend,

Archbishop Cranmer, warning him of the intrigues of Bishop Gardiner. This king had also visited Lambeth in the time of William Warham, who was Primate (1503–33).

Erasmus, the guest of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea, also came here, being entertained in the Great Hall. He writes: "We sate down two hundred to table. . . . Warham was very cheerful and accessible; he knows not what pride is, yet of how much might he be proud . . . from Warham who even departed in sorrow."

The friendship between the archbishop and Erasmus was lasting and intimate. The Primate gave him the living of Aldington in Kent, which he only retained six months—the seclusion of a country vicarage seems to have been disliked by one whose sympathy was with learning, people and books. Erasmus wrote that "the Archbishop did all for me that was possible. He is one of the best of men and an honour to the realm, wise, judicious, learned, above his contemporaries."

The revival of learning brought forward such men as Dean Colet, Grocyn, Lilly, and others, whom Archbishop Warham befriended and encouraged. The river was then the highway to Lambeth—tree-lined and sloping gardens bounded the shore, and the scene, gay with the constant flow of canopied barge and humbler craft, must have been picturesque indeed—

> "So many gardens, dressed with curious care,
> That Thames, with Royal Tiber may compare."

Queen Mary often visited Cardinal Pole, while her sister Elizabeth honoured Archbishops Parker and Whitgift on more than one occasion. History has connected the latter queen with a priceless volume in the Lambeth Library, entitled *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, printed in 1569 by the famous John Day, illustrated by a portrait of the queen and by many scripture scenes coloured by hand. This volume of royal link with Lambeth was once preserved at Whitehall Palace, and coming into Queen Anne's

possession, it was presented to Archbishop Tenison; thence it found a lasting home in the historic library.

To Archbishop Parker must be ascribed the credit of gathering in his household, engravers, limners, and artists; and of these John Day, the famous printer, was conspicuous. So great was this prelate's care for antiquarian research that he procured an order of the Privy Council "to borrow the ancient records from the dissolved monasteries in the hands of private persons." He also employed copyists to make searches for him, and his patronage of letters had a wide effect on men like Stow, Lambarde, and similar writers. His bequests to his own college, Corpus Christi, Cambridge, besides many volumes at Lambeth, attest the interest he took in all branches of learning. It should be remembered that the consecration of this prelate took place in the palace chapel, December 1559, and that this event has been duly entered in the Register of that archbishop preserved among the Lambeth archives. Of the Primate's interest in research, "it was his practice," wrote the late Canon Dixon, "to interchange books and MSS., to give and receive suggestions for mutual improvement. His interest in books extended to typography and embellishment, and Parker may be regarded as the founder of clerical scholarship in England." Archbishop Whitgift, as before stated, received royalty, and gave many entertainments at Lambeth, and was visited by James the First in his last illness. Of his successor, Dr. Abbot, few incidents are recorded of gatherings or hospitality. During Archbishop Laud's tenure, Charles the First visited Lambeth on the occasion of the marriage, in the private chapel, of Lady Mary Villiers to the Duke of Lennox. The growing discontent against the archbishop showed itself in an attack by the apprentices of London on the palace, where, before its gates, some five hundred had assembled, an event represented in old prints.

The war cloud brought its results. We hear of many who were taken prisoners, and a formal order went forth from the Commons in 1643, that Lambeth House, "lying empty

and convenient, should be converted into a prison." Several, for religious or political crimes, were confined within the so-called "Lollard's" and Gateway Tower. Among the names, Sir Roger Twysden, of an old Kentish family; Dr. Guy Castleton; and the Royalist poet, Sir R. Lovelace, were conspicuous.

Sir Roger Twysden, whose sympathies were with the Parliamentary party, was alienated by its action against the bishops and the church. He was associated with the famous Kentish petition of 1642. While a captive at Lambeth he pursued his studies and made researches, subsequently embodied in the *Decem Scriptores*. Towards the year 1650 he returned to his Kentish home at East Peckham. Though his estates were sequestrated amidst the stress of political life, his best powers were given to the study of historical lore.

Besides the Lollard's Tower which held the captives, other apartments were occupied; and so late as the year 1659 we read of many incarcerated there. Names and marks cut on the walls of some rooms remain to attest the occupancy of the ill-fated prisoners.

With the Restoration period, more settled conditions prevailed, and some years later Archbishop Sancroft, on his deprivation, passed from the Water Tower to his barge, which conveyed him to a temporary home in the Temple; finally leaving for his native place, Fressingfield, in Suffolk. So keenly did this prelate feel his expulsion from the See that he left his books, which had been intended for the Lambeth shelves, to his own college, Emmanuel, Cambridge.

The eventful year, 1688, brought with it many incidents. We hear of Mary of Modena, wife of James II., in her flight from Whitehall, taking shelter in the guise of a laundress under the palace gateway on a cold December night. Here she waited till a coach was ready from a neighbouring hostelry to convey her to Gravesend, and ultimately to France.

The ferry and waterway at Lambeth was then much employed, and its annals survive in the names of Ferry Street and Horseferry Road. Close at hand was a piece of ground called "Water Lambeth," probably so named from its site. An old inn called the "Ship" was much frequented during this river passage. To the Lambeth ferry some interest attaches, for the archbishops granted the profits of this conveyance to some of their official staff. On the erection of Westminster Bridge in 1750 this river transit ceased.

Memorable was the incident which occurred to Archbishop Laud, as he relates in his Diary (September 15, 1633): "When I first went to Lambeth my coach, and horses, and men sank to the bottom of the Thames in the ferry boat, which was overladen; but I praise God for it, I neither lost man nor horse."

In olden times, the Thames would almost have washed the walls of the palace, leaving only what was known as the "Bishop's Walk," a narrow tree-lined path, destroyed to make the Embankment. The private barge-house and landing-stage for the archbishops was not far distant, and the watermen so employed could not be engaged for any other service.

A curious Admiralty order, dated 1703, signed by Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, gives the names of the men who were not to be impressed into the public service. Archbishop Wake is said to have been the last to use this water transit.

A moat that ran through the Lambeth gardens is shown in an old print of 1781, and this moat was probably fed from the river.

One time-honoured custom was the annual journey by water of the Stationers' Company on Lord Mayor's Day to Lambeth, and the presentation of a copy of their almanac to the archbishop. This custom began about 1679, but has long been discontinued, surviving in the presentation of the almanac to the Primate. The power of licensing books was formerly given to the archbishops and some

bishops, and the registers of the Stationers' Company are replete with information on this and kindred subjects. In old prints the river procession of the Company to Lambeth is still to be seen, a memorial of London's waterway.

Another quaint custom, closely connected with Lambeth, was the distribution of the "dole," formerly given away at the entrance gate. This custom, of long survival, had its origin in the gift of surplus food remaining after the banquets held in the ancient hall. The "dole" has been commuted by a money payment to the deserving poor of the locality.

The Water and the adjoining Cranmer's Tower of red brick are rife with many events of olden time. In the former, approached by a winding spiral staircase, is the prison, where, on the inner walls, are scratched names and inscriptions by the weary inmates of this gloomy room. A further ascent leads to the summit of the tower, crowned by a lead-capped and picturesque turret. Here an almost panoramic view of London opens before us. This tower of the early fifteenth century is the work of Archbishop Chichele, a fact confirmed by the stewards' or bailiffs' accounts of 1435, and also by the arms of that Primate on a shield, enclosed in a canopied niche, on the outside wall of this structure. The picturesque site of the towers, the one of stone, rough and grey, the other of red brick, mellowed by time, forms a most interesting part of ancient Lambeth. In descending from the summit we reach by devious steps the renewed crypt, another famous portion situate under the chapel. Some approximate date may be given to the crypt, for it is supposed to have been much earlier than the chapel, which is assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century. The groined stone arches of the roof, and the carved and slender columns, recall in elegance and structure parts of Waverley Abbey, near Farnham, some time ago excavated under the auspices of the Surrey Archæological Society. To Archbishop Davidson must be awarded the restitution of this most choice portion of Lambeth's architecture, in rescuing this crypt from a mass of rubbish to

its present graceful and original condition. The earlier days of this crypt was not without its dark pages in history. Here in 1536 Queen Anne Boleyn was summoned to appear before Archbishop Cranmer, when her marriage with Henry VIII. was declared invalid. From this tribunal the unfortunate queen passed to the river bank, and

Terminal from Bench in Lambeth Palace Chapel.

thence to the barge which conveyed her to her prison-house in the gloomy Tower of London.

To the east of "Lambeth House," as then called, was the Park, of large area, containing several elm, walnut, and chestnut trees. A usual appendage to the manor-houses of the see, we read of the park at Lyminge, Saltwood, Croydon, Beaksbourne, Ford, and a few others. These parks were often stocked with deer, and gave the pleasures of the chase to some of their owners. Keepers of the park were appointed also of the woods and manors of the

archbishops. Particulars of these are to be found among the charters and rolls in Lambeth Library, as well as in the Domestic State Papers.

The largest manor in Kent was Lyminge, which extended over Romney Marsh to the borders of Sussex, and was surrendered by Cranmer to the Crown. There is little to identify the once known park at Lambeth, which probably formed part of the ground now given up to the people, and known as "Lambeth Park," opened in 1898.

From the close proximity of Lambeth Church to the palace it seems fitting to mention that several of the archbishops are interred here, viz. Primates Bancroft, Tenison, Secker, Cornwallis, and Hutton.

In the churchyard we find the names of Ashmole, the antiquary, a native of Lambeth parish; Tradescant, the botanist; Dollond, the maker of telescopes, and of refugee extraction; with others of known worth.

Among rectors of Lambeth have been Dr. Gibson, the editor of Camden's *Britannia*, and author of the famous *Codex* that bears his name; and Dr. Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London.

With the lapse of many centuries, Lambeth Palace still stands, stately in its time-worn and picturesque grouping, rich in history of Church and State, in incidents various and powerful, woven into the annals of English life and thought. Of it can be said truly, "The aspects of these venerable edifices affect us like a human countenance, bearing the traces not only of outward stress and storm . . . but expressive of the long lapse of mortal life with its accompanying vicissitudes that have passed." "The admonitions of places," wrote Archbishop Tait, "are as powerful as the admonitions of books. Men's hearts may well be stirred and their loyalty to the National Church confirmed as they trace the many memorials, the architecture, pictures, and ornaments of Lambeth, which bring them face to face with the past."

THE WALL-PAINTINGS IN SURREY CHURCHES

By Philip Mainwaring Johnston, F.S.A.

SURREY and Sussex together contain more important ancient wall-paintings than any other half-dozen counties in England. It is no exaggeration to say that the famous Chaldon painting in the former, and the wonderful series at Hardham in the latter county, are for age and curiosity unrivalled in this country, and the former may be said to have a European reputation. The writer therefore feels that he need not apologise for a somewhat lengthy description of such a famous relic in the following pages, in which also he has attempted a description of all the other mural paintings which reformers, Puritans, restorers (save the mark!), and the gnawing tooth of Time have left to us.

It is truly melancholy in attempting such a record even to imagine the hundreds of such treasures lost to us—suffered to perish through ignorance or of *malice prepense*. Of some such we have a meagre record, as of the Croydon St. Christopher and St. George; of others, such as the fifteenth century saints at Lingfield;[1] the thirteenth century paintings at Fetcham (which included a Coronation of Our Lady, the Allegory of the Three Dead and the Three Living, Extreme Unction, and Purgatory); and the Passion scenes at Beddington, *c.* 1400, we have reliable records, with coloured illustrations, in the *Surrey Archæological Society's Collections*, which also exhibit an engraving and a description by the gifted pen of the late Mr. J. G. Waller,

[1] Described as (?) St. Cyprian, St. Clement, St Margaret, and St. Michael.

F.S.A., of the fine St. Christopher at Newdigate Church, now no more to be seen. But none can show us now any such substitute for the lost originals in a score of churches like Cranleigh, Worplesdon, the Bookhams, Leatherhead, Bletchingley, Farnham, Chipstead, Reigate, and Woking, where the restorer has wreaked his will unchecked.[1]

It has been thought that the alphabetical arrangement followed in the following pages is more convenient for reference. A few small fragments, not dealt with in this list, may be mentioned here. At Alfold a Crucifixion, lily-pots and roses of the fifteenth century, now concealed; at Kingston-on-Thames, St. Blaise; at Tatsfield, patterns; and at Worplesdon a St. Christopher. The writer has lately searched parts of the walls of Caterham Church, and has found many fragments of colouring, but nothing of a definite character. A fish-like object, of pointed-oval shape, in red, was met with in many places where the whitewash was removed. The curious image-bracket on the north wall of the nave shows traces of colour, the eyes of the grotesque monster being painted black. The north wall of the north aisle has red colour visible through modern colour wash, near to the western end.

It is sad to think that the beautifully painted stone reredoses, of fourteenth and fifteenth century date, at Reigate, have lost their decoration, in which gold, silver, and several colours were employed. As a poor exchange, the ancient sedilia have modern colouring in supposed reproduction of the old.

Painting other than on walls, such as the colouring of alabaster "tables" at Chessington and West Horsley, and on sixteenth and seventeenth century monuments, as *e.g.*

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[1] In some cases tracings or drawings of paintings which were found only to be destroyed have been made, as *e.g.* in the cases of Fetcham, Beddington, Lingfield, Oakwood Chapel, and the curious painting on the back of a nave altar-recess at Stoke d'Abernon; but these, instead of being deposited in the hands of a responsible body, such as the Surrey Archæological Society, have mostly remained in private custody, and have been lost or destroyed in course of time.

at Capel, Merton, and Wotton, on screen-work and roofs, as at West Clandon (screen panels), and Pyrford and Ockham (roofs), hardly falls within the scope of this article.

ALBURY (Plate I.)

In the old church, now disused, are many traces of paintings, and a careful search beneath the whitewash that covers the walls would be well repaid. Some years ago, when repairs were being done, a quantity of plaster and whitewash scaled off the south wall of the south aisle, revealing a very perfect and extremely valuable painting of St. Christopher, dating from the latter part of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. Besides the giant and his Sacred Burden, there are many curious details, such as the great river-estuary he is fording, in which are fully-rigged men-of-war, and boats with archers shooting arrows, &c.; also a castle, and, on the left of the picture, a cell or chapel, towards which a hermit is leading the way with a lantern. It is much to be wished that this very interesting painting should be carefully sprayed, as it is undoubtedly fast perishing. Tracings should also be made to preserve a record of it. The style and details of this painting compare so closely with those of the destroyed St. Christopher at Newdigate that it seems probable they were by the same artist.

BEDDINGTON

When, in 1850, this fine church passed through a drastic restoration, the arches of the nave, arcades, and the chancel arch were rebuilt, and paintings of the scenes in our Lord's Passion were discovered around the latter, of which careful tracings were made by the architect employed on the work.[1]

[1] Mr. Joseph Clarke. This gentleman, very properly, after exhibiting the tracings at a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute on June 7, 1850, presented the tracings to the Institute, "in order," as he remarked, "that a memorial may remain in the best custody to which it could be committed": an example that one sadly wishes had been generally followed. These tracings are still preserved by the Institute.

PLATE I. ALBURY: ST. CHRISTOPHER.

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Coloured plates have been reproduced from these tracings, to accompany an article by the late J. Lewis André, F.S.A., in vol. xv. of the *Surrey Archæological Collections* (1900), to which reference may be made by those interested. One subject represented the Flagellation, in which our Lord, with bound feet, stands clasping a post with crossed hands, while two ruffians of repulsive mien are scourging Him, their cruel weapons drawing blood from His sacred body; another fragment showed the Bearing of the Cross; and a third, the best preserved, the Crucifixion, in which Mary and John, in attitudes of grief and wonder, appear on either side of our Saviour. The mystic stream of water and blood issues from His pierced side; His head is bowed as if in the act of yielding up the ghost, and a diminutive figure beneath is driving with a hammer the nail into His right foot—a curious and unusual incident in such a scene.

BYFLEET (Plate II.)

There is an interesting scrap of painting here, over and around the north doorway. The general wall-surface is decorated with painted masonry blocks in double dark red lines, $\frac{3}{16}$ inch wide, upon a pale salmon ground, with five-petalled roses above each pair of vertical lines dividing the blocks; and in the top corners, on either side of these vertical lines, is a dot, which, as well as the roses, is in an orange-red. It is all very neatly and well done. By the west jamb of the door is a circular consecration cross of the Maltese or patée form, with a thick dark-red border and a white inner line, the cross itself being painted in yellow. Curiously, the lines of the "stoning" are made to run through this. Over the door, and also painted so that the stoning and roses show through, is a figure of a king, of the same date. He is seated on a throne beneath a canopy of pinnacles and flying buttresses; cross-legged (a convention evidently expressing something *kingly*, as it so frequently occurs in mediæval paintings), right hand on hip and left

hand extended, as though to emphasise speech. He is crowned, and has elaborately curled hair and a beard. A yellow mantle is draped in folds round his person. The date is that of the church, *c.* 1290. Possibly the king intended is Edward I., who had a palace or manor-house hard by.

CHALDON (Plate III.)

The tiny hill-church of SS. Peter and Paul, barely eighteen miles from London, yet so remote in its character and surroundings that it might be ten times that distance away, awoke to find itself famous in 1871.[1] In that year, while the little building was undergoing restoration (on the whole, of a merciful sort), the then rector, the Rev. H. Shepherd, who, with commendable zeal, watched the work very closely, heard that some traces of colour had been found on the west wall. In his temporary absence some remains of a painting had also been discovered beneath the whitewash on the return wall of the arcade on the north side, but the workmen had hacked off the plaster forthwith, and only the tradition survives that the painting resembled that on the west wall, of which it appeared to be a continuation, and that it consisted of a demon and other figures. Although this piece was, unhappily, lost, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the good rector for preserving and patiently uncovering the great subject on the west wall, which, archæologically at least, is beyond doubt the most valuable and interesting ancient wall-painting in England.

After its careful uncovering, some few of the lines and part of the background colour were touched up, but, on the whole, all that we see is ancient and authentic, and we can

[1] The church looks like a toy, as one approaches, with its steep-pitched, short nave; its stumpy, squat-roofed chancel and flanking chapel; its narrow aisles and quaint miniature tower and spire, sitting upon the western extremity of the south aisle. By contrast, the roomy porch is of about the same size as the south chapel. The nave is only 27 feet by 17 feet 3 inches, and the total internal length less than 43 feet; the width, with the aisles, being 34 feet 6 inches.

Plate II. Byfleet: Figure of a King over North Door.

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WANDSWORTH, S.W.

look upon the work of a late twelfth century artist and behold it almost in the state in which he left it.[1] The west wall of the nave upon which the painting was executed dates from about 1080, when we may assume that the church mentioned in Domesday (1806), under *Chalvedone*, was either built, or built anew. Chaldon was from a much earlier date a possession of the ancient Abbey of Chertsey,[2] and Mr. N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A., in his *Mural Painting* (vol. ii. pp. 163–65), says: "It is evident that this painting was the work of a very studious man, probably one of the learned monks of Chertsey, and the school of the art of this monastery here finds valuable illustration for comparison with that of Canterbury, Winchester, Lewes, and Durham." Mr. Westlake accepts the construction of the incidents in the painting set forth in great detail by the late Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., in the *Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society* (vol. xv. pp. 275–306); and, with the exception of a few small points, the present writer has adopted the same interpretation.

The painting, which may be entitled THE LADDER OF SALVATION, AND THE TORMENTS OF HELL, occupies the entire width of the west wall of the nave—17 feet 3 inches—and is 11 feet 2 inches in height, its bottom being about 5 feet 6 inches from the floor. The wall is a blank one, except for a tall round-headed window, of early Norman date, in the gable over the painting.[3] In composition the painting consists of four compartments divided horizontally by a nebuly band (A) and vertically by the ladder (B), that

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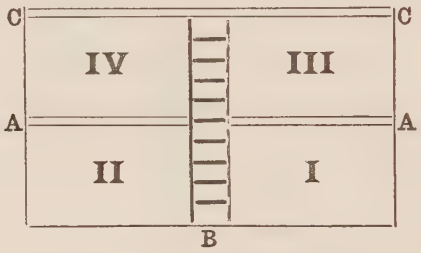
[1] While this is true in a general sense, unhappily the whole painting is slowly but surely fading, and urgently calls for the application of a spraying treatment to stay further disintegration.

[2] A.D. 727, when Frithewald, "Subregulus Provinciæ Surrianorum," "V mansas," "apud Chepestede" (Chipstead), "cum Chalvedune," granted to the monastery of Chertsey; the grant being confirmed (967) by King Eadgar and (1062) by Edward the Confessor.

[3] This window, which is pierced straight through the wall without any internal splay, about 1 foot in width and 4 feet 6 inches high, is of *c.* 1080. There is one very similar in the west gable of Farley Church in this neighbourhood.

forms the most prominent feature in the whole scheme. At the top is a riband ornament of zigzag form, white and yellow, with diamonds of dark colour in the upper angles (C). The ground is of a pale red ochre (*not* the chocolate colour given in the otherwise excellent plate accompanying Mr. Waller's paper), and appears to have been put in after the figures had been outlined in a darker shade of red. A pink or "rusty" colour is employed in tinting some of the demons; yellow ochre in other demons, the ladder, flames, hair, and other details; and, mixed with pink, in the angels' dresses, and the cloud representing



Paradise. Otherwise, most of the figures are simply outlined in white against the red ground, and, while vigorously drawn, they are treated in the simplest and most diagrammatic fashion. To take the compartments in the order adopted by Mr. Waller,[1] we begin on the right at the bottom with—

I. The TREE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL—a significant reminder of Man's Fall and of the reign of Sin and Death ensuing therefrom. Its branches are gracefully curved and twisted, loaded with fruit and leaves, resembling those of the fig; and coiled in the upper boughs is the serpent, with open mouth. Doubtless in the continuation which once existed on the return (north)

[1] Mr. Waller shows, very convincingly, the conformity of this painting to the formulæ contained in the *Guide to Painting of the Greek Church*, remarking that in that communion "nothing changes, and its art in the present day is, in its traditions, that of the twelfth century."

wall, Adam and Eve were depicted taking of the forbidden fruit, Eve (as at Hardham—see *Memorials of Old Sussex*, p. 248) giving it to Adam. This would form the true beginning of the story. The Demon, said to have been found with other figures, may have been Satan, who often appears in early delineations of the Fall *twice over—i.e.* as the Serpent coiled in the Tree and as a seductive human figure handing the apple to Eve.

Adjoining the Tree, on the left, are shown some of the Torments of the Inferno. A white Demon at the left and a yellow one at the right end are holding up a BRIDGE OF SPIKES, across which five little naked souls are trying to pass, but apparently tearing their limbs on the sharp spikes. One is a man trying to carry across without spilling it a bowl of milk. Next are two women advancing in opposite directions, one bearing a blurred object, that may be a mass of wool, uncarded; another holding aloft a ball, which may represent spun wool. To the right are a mason, with the pick-hammer of his craft, facing a smith, who is striking with a hammer at a horse-shoe, held by pincers, but with no anvil to smite on! These all symbolise those who robbed Mother Church of their tithes, and so are put to this ordeal.[1]

In the vision of Tundale, an Irishman of noble family, who died suddenly in a fit of anger, and was conducted by his guardian angel through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, written in 1149, Mr. Waller finds an apt comparison with some of these typical figures. He quotes from the English metrical version of the Vision :—

> "Over that lake then say thei lygge
> A wonder long narow brygge,
> Too myle of leynthe that was semand,
> And scarsly of the bred of a hand.

[1] This probation or punishment of the spiked bridge can be traced back in the mythologies of the East to a hoary antiquity. It appears in the Koran, in what may be called a re-edited form, as the bridge over Gehenna, as narrow and as sharp as a razor.

Off scharpe pykys of yron and stell
Hit was grevows for to fele.
Ther myght passe by that brygge thare,
But yeff her feet wer hyrt sare.
The hydous bestys in that lake
Drew near the brygge her pray to take
Off sowlows that fell of that brygge don
To swolow hem thei wer ay bon.
He saw won stond on the brygge,
With a burden of corne on is rygge,
Gretand with a dylfull crye,
And pleynud his synne full pytuysly;
The pykys his fett pykud full sore,
He dredyd the bestys mykyll mor."
. . . . .

Tundale inquires of the angel the meaning of this incident:—

"The angell onswerud thus agayn:
For hym is ordeynyd this payn,
That robbygt men of hor ryches,
Or any gudys that herys is.
. . . . .
And he that thou syst on the brygge stand
With the schevis so sore gretand,
Fro holy chyrch he hom stale."

Upon which Tundale is told by the angel that it is his turn to go over the bridge.

"And with the lede a wyld cowe,
Loke thou lede her warly,
And be war yee fall not by."

This punishment is laid upon him, because, while on earth, he had stolen the "gossypis cow." He is in sore distress; he takes the cow by the horns, but has great difficulty in getting the beast over the bridge. Both flounder about, until at length they encounter the man carrying the sheaf, and the bridge is too narrow for them to pass each other; neither can turn back, and they both suffer cruelly from the "scharpe pykys," until his guardian angel comes to Tundale's rescue, and he is saved.

We have, then, in these types of fraudulent toilers in the

Painting, Chaldon Church.
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painting just such people as Tundale saw working out the punishment of their misdeeds.

Beneath them, in the centre, is that object of both the Church's and the people's execration—the USURER—perhaps here associated specially with Judas. He is seated in the flames, which are slowly roasting him, while two grim devils are forcing him down into the fire with two-pronged forks. One demon, to get a better vantage, is taking a spring off the body of one of the great demons who support the bridge. The Usurer holds up a gold piece in his right hand; with the left he is trying to catch the coins that stream from his distended mouth, as though forced from him by the tormentors. Slung from his neck is a great purse, or wallet, and round his waist depend three money-bags.

On the left of this a small demon is urging an elderly man and a youth to the commission of some criminal act; while, similarly, on the opposite side, it is a man and woman who are being tempted by a rust-coloured "shade" to illicit intercourse. In the first instance the body of the small demon is painted as if seen through the transparent body of the big demon, perhaps to indicate that they are shades or spirits.

II. In the bottom compartment, to the left of the foregoing, the principal subject is HELL CAULDRON. A ferocious cat-faced demon, white in colour, with curly tail and clawed feet, is stirring with his pitchfork a great pot on three legs standing over a flaming fire. He has a wide mouth, from which his tongue protrudes. Within the pot are some half-dozen souls, supposed to represent parricides and fratricides,[1] while another is falling head downwards into it. A second demon, coloured a rusty pink, jabs at the souls in the pot with his fork. Holding on to him, as though to escape the flames, is a curious little figure with left leg partly behind the hairy leg of the demon. In his

[1] This is the peculiar punishment awarded to such classes of sinners in Tundale's vision.

right hand he bears a pilgrim's staff, with a wallet hanging from it, and above is a great bottle, shaped like a modern champagne "magnum," which he grasps by the neck. Mr. Waller elucidates the moral of this incident from a story in the *Promptuarium Exemplorum* of John Herolt, a German Dominican friar, who wrote at the commencement of the fifteenth century. This story tells of a pilgrim who sold his coat, and buying strong wine, got drunk, became demented, and was given up as dead. His spirit was then taken to the place of torment, where he beheld Satan sitting over a well with a burning cover, who gave to a certain prelate a blazing cup of sulphurous drink, and, when he had drunk, sent him into the fiery well. Then Satan called out loudly, "Bring hither that pilgrim who, selling his pilgrim's garment for wine, got drunk." The terrified pilgrim turned to the good angel who had conveyed him thither, and promised that he would never more get drunk.

To the right of this is a beast, standing on its hind legs, and gnawing the hand of a woman, who is writhing with the pain. Her peculiar sin seems to have been giving to the dogs those things which she ought to have given to the poor. As Herolt makes such an one say: "I stretched out my hands, in giving to dogs those things which I ought to have given to the poor—that is to say, meat, cakes, and other things; and even I adorned them luxuriously with rings and gems."[1]

Immediately over this mediæval dog-worshipper are the figures of a man and woman falling through the air, the man holding a large horn and the woman clutching the end of the horn, and displaying in her right hand a piece of money. They thus appear to be partners in some evil deed —perhaps an Ananias and Sapphira, who, having offered the value of their land to the Church, are keeping back part

[1] There is a curious appositeness in this to the present-day feminine weakness for lap-dogs. Father Vaughan was anticipated by this twelfth century moralist!

of the price. Or possibly, as a horn so frequently passed with the tenure of land in the Middle Ages, there may be an allusion to the withholding of tithes on land. Or, again, following a tale in the *De Morientibus* of Cæsarius, the moral may relate to the devil's horn and the sin of blasphemy; and the woman may be an evil liver, who consorts with such blasphemers.

On the extreme left of this compartment, beneath the paw of the white demon, are three women walking over a beast, who is lying on its back, clawing and biting their feet, while the flames are bursting up from beneath him. These are perhaps meant for the dancing and tumbling women — followers of the daughter of Herodias — who, especially in the days of the Crusades, had learned to practise those dissolute dances which brought so much scandal into the lives of the people. Their feet which have sinned are thus being tormented.[1] Above them is an imperfect subject, in which a yellow demon appears to be swinging a female figure over his head, as though to cast her down to the gnawing beasts beneath. On the right of this picture is yet another demon, with cloven hoofs, engaged in shaking down from the great LADDER the little naked souls who are striving to climb. Ten of them are falling down in various attitudes; one is clinging to the ladder while in the demon's grasp, and another is pitchforked over his shoulder. Great life and expression is expressed in all the figures; and the anatomy is astonishingly good.

III. Passing to the right top compartment, the principal subject is THE HARROWING OF HELL, in which Hell Mouth is seen amid flames. Instead of the yawning monster-head —by some thought to have been taken from Jonah's whale, by others from the crocodile—we have here a recumbent

[1] The tumbling woman, or Herodias' daughter, is a favourite subject for the illuminator or sculptor of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as in the Prior's Door, Ely Cathedral, and paintings in Idsworth Church, Hants, and in the church of Poncé (Sarthe), France.

serpentine body, with upturned snake-like head, having globular eyes and great teeth, and from its jaws is issuing a soul. Lying upon this symbolical representation of Hell is Satan—a dusky figure, with staring eyes, his mouth open, and tongue protruding. His wrists are fettered cross-wise by a leathern thong, and he appears to be writhing in baffled rage beneath the feet of our Saviour, who is trampling him down, and thrusting the ferrule of His cross-headed banner-pole into his mouth. Our Lord, who is habited in a girded tunic over an alb, wears a cope or mantle, and has the cruciform nimbus. The cross and its three-tailed pennon are very carefully drawn; but, as in the case of the angels and most of the little figures representing souls, the face is devoid of features. It may be that they were intentionally omitted, or that they were painted in some pigment, such as black (derived from some vegetable colour, or soot), which has perished, while the earthy ochres of the painting have survived seven centuries. The demons all have great oval white eyes, but without any pupil, save perhaps in one instance. Satan's eyes, however, retain both pupil and iris.[1] In spite of statements to the contrary, the writer feels certain that features were originally introduced into all the faces, and that faint traces of them can still be discerned in the case of several. It seems incredible that the artist should have missed such an opportunity of conveying expression, when in all other respects the drawing is so graphic and full of life. Even so eminent an authority as the late Mr. Waller seems to have unduly insisted upon this absence of features.[2]

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[1] Not shown in the generally faithful lithograph that accompanies Mr. Waller's paper, but visible to the naked eye, and also plainly in photographs of the painting taken by the Rector and Mr. Geo. C. Druce. In drawings made by the writer in 1883 of one of the demons and an angel the pupil appears in the demon's eye, and the angel's nose, eyes, and mouth are plainly visible.

[2] Mr. Waller says (*Surrey Archæological College*, v., p. 503): "It is remarkable that there is no filling-up of features in the figures, excepting those of the demons and . . . 'the usurer.' . . . The features of a few figures are given because they are profiles, and part of an external outline, and

The drawing of the little figures who are issuing from the flames and jaws of Hell is as good and expressive as anything in the picture. Four at least of the eleven are women, and all are eagerly stretching out their hands towards the Redeemer; the two foremost, somewhat more prominent than the others, being probably intended for Adam and Eve, in accordance with the ancient tradition that our first parents were the first to be delivered from Hades by our Lord. Above, in the sky, hovers an angel bearing a scroll, without inscription, but which is doubtless intended to symbolise the proclamation of deliverance.

On the extreme left of this compartment another angel is assisting two figures to ascend the ladder to Paradise, and these, very probably, are intended for Enoch and Elijah, who passed from life to Life.

IV. Coming now to the last compartment in the picture, we have, on the left, the very ancient subject of THE WEIGHING OF SOULS, which carries us back to the religions of ancient Egypt. Satan, with spiked head, pointed ears, and tongue protruding from his serried teeth, is drawing after him with a rope a train of souls, advancing his great clawed feet in a defiant attitude, as he strives to depress the balance of the scales nearest to him, while Michael, the archangel, holds the scales in readiness for a soul who is about to be weighed.[1] Another angel, bearing a book or tablet, is leading three women, who, it has been suggested by Mr. Waller, may represent the three Marys, "as there

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doubtless to subserve, as they do most cleverly, certain expressions. But even here there are no eyes put in; they are therefore merely *silhouettes*, and obey the same law which the artist has evidently laid down for himself. In fact, it is a bit of art-writing, truly hieroglyphic, to serve the purpose of instruction only, and not for any egotistical self-assertion. . . . Some may think the work was left unfinished, but this is quite an untenable position."

The present writer feels it to be due to so weighty and learned an authority as the late Mr. Waller to quote his words on this head; and, while expressing a general assent to his argument, to offer a qualifying opinion as to the filling in of features and other details, which he believes Time has now obliterated.

[1] The same subject of soul-weighing—now very indistinct and imperfect—occurs among the paintings in St. Mary's, Guildford (*q.v.*).

are no other three female saints who occupy so high a dignity, connected with each other in the sacred narrative." This angel has a purse hanging at his girdle, which may be supposed to contain the almsgivings of the faithful; while their suffrages and good deeds may be imagined as recorded in the book or tablets. Similarly, the angel on the right side of the ladder appears to be holding a book, or tablets, of smaller size. Two unfortunate souls are represented, in this upper part of the ladder, as falling, by which, perhaps, we are to understand that they have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Flying in the firmament above is an angel who bears a soul to Paradise, and the particular soul may well be meant for that of the repentant thief, to whom the promise of the dying Saviour was addressed: "Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise." Paradise is represented by a semicircle of wavy-edged cloud resting upon the top of the ladder, within it being the head and shoulders of Christ encircled by an aureole. He has the cruciform nimbus, and bears the Cross over His shoulder as He turns towards the angel who carries the soul in his arms.

As to the date of the painting, both the late Mr. J. G. Waller and Mr. N. H. J. Westlake are agreed that it falls within the twelfth century. The writer, after very careful study of both church and painting, inclines to the same opinion, but considers that it may be taken as fairly certain that the painting was executed at about the same date as the south arcade of the nave, which belongs to the last decade of the twelfth century. In other words, it is not earlier than about 1190. The north arcade certainly is not earlier than *circa* 1210, but inasmuch as there is a substantial respond to the western arch, it is easy to understand how a piece of the earlier painting might have been left on the return face of the wall when the wall itself was largely demolished for the erection of the arcade.

It is tantalising to think that there may have been

other ancient paintings in this church which were not preserved when the church was restored. Only one other fragment remains besides the great painting—viz. a consecration cross, of somewhat unusual shape, on the pillar of the south arcade. It is, like that at the foot of the painting, a cross patée, but with the lower limb prolonged.

CHARLWOOD (Plate IV.)

On the south wall of the south aisle, near to its western end, are some paintings discovered in 1858 by the late Rev. Thomas Burningham, Rector of Charlwood, but now, unfortunately, very indistinct; of which the subjects are the legends of St. Margaret, St. Nicholas, and St. Edmund. The writer hopes at no distant date to make tracings of these interesting fragments before they have quite faded away. The colours employed are red and yellow ochre, lamp-black, and white. The date of the first painting is about 1270, and the last is probably of the fifteenth century, while the legend of St. Nicholas is apparently of early fourteenth century work.[1] There is also beneath the last-named, and of about the same date, a painting of that strange allegorical subject, found in France as well as in England—"The Three Living Men and the Three Dead"—in which three skeletons are contrasted with three kings, usually represented as enjoying the pleasures of the chase, by way of pointing the vanity of human life, and, incidentally, as a protest against a too great fondness for "sport." The same subject has been found at Dunsfold and Fetcham; and it was formerly to be seen at Battle, Sussex. The beautiful late screen to the south chancel has some rich colour and gilding, partly restored; and the canopied image-niches on either side of the east window of the chancel show remains of colouring in blue, red, and gold.

[1] Some account of these is given by the late Mr. W. Burges, A.R.A., in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxi. pp. 209–17, with illustrations: there is also a description by the late Mr. J. L. André in the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. xi. pp. 7–18.

With regard to the paintings of the legend of St. Margaret, there are three bays or compartments, and the arrangement of the subject corresponds closely with the illuminations in a nearly contemporary MS. in the British Museum, known as Queen Mary's Psalter.[1] The story commences with the upper band, on the right, where the Governor of Antioch, Olibrius, is seen engaged in hunting in a forest. He is seated on a galloping horse, holding a mace in his gloved left hand. Beneath, a greyhound is pursuing a hare. Before him runs an attendant bearing a fringed banner, on which appears a cross upon a field fretty; and behind is a huntsman with bow and staff, winding his horn. It was upon such an occasion that Olibrius is said to have first seen St. Margaret, as she was watching over her nurse's flock. According to the legend, he sent a slave, on his return from the chase, to summon Margaret to his presence, and the pursuivant, or herald, with the banner, is, no doubt, the messenger. He is apparently running to kneel before the saint, and his right hand is upraised, as if to emphasise his message.

In the middle tier of the paintings are three scenes, ranging from east to west. First, we have St. Margaret beaten with rods;[2] next, she is thrown into prison; and, lastly, she is shown as being swallowed by Satan in the guise of a great red dragon, while above, in the westernmost corner, is the Divine hand, stretched forth in benediction from a star-powdered firmament or cloud.

There are two subjects in the lower tier, which is much defaced, also reading from east to west. The first is almost obliterated, but appears to have reference to a prison scene. The second represents the beheadal of St. Margaret in the

[1] Royal MS., 2 B. vii.

[2] Mr. Burges points out that this first subject plainly shows traces of corrections in the drawing; the figure of the gaoler, in the second scene, having been commenced too far to the east, it was subsequently covered over by that of the executioner.

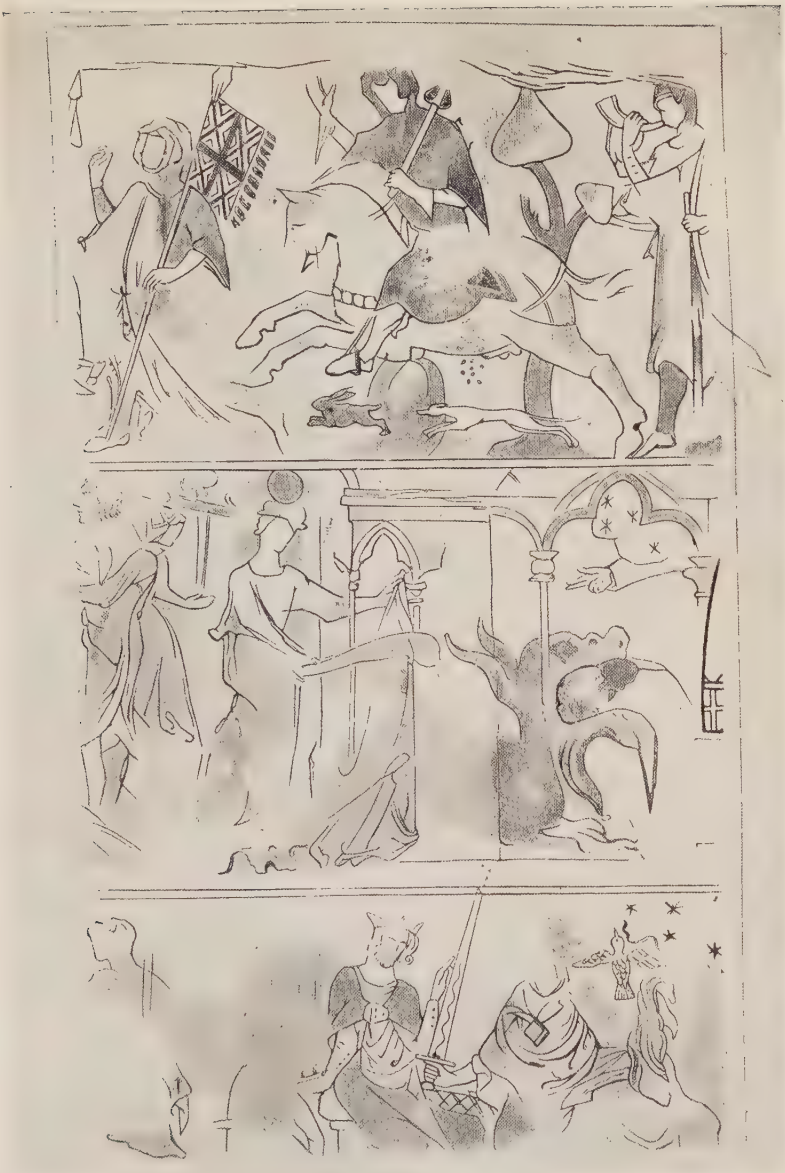

PLATE IV. CHARLWOOD: THE LEGEND OF ST. MARGARET.

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presence of Olibrius, crowned and enthroned. He is apparently struck with consternation as he points towards the saint, or rather to a white dove, the emblem of her pure soul, flying heavenwards, while the executioner brandishes a large sword, and holds her head by the hair. Some stars represent heaven. Other scenes in the martyrdom of the saint, which figure in the MS. illuminations, are omitted in the painting, which only presents the more prominent incidents of the legend.[1]

The westernmost bay of this south aisle wall has only two tiers of painting, and the subjects relate to the legend of St. Nicholas, and his miraculous bringing to life of the three scholars, after their bodies had been cut up and salted as pork. The lower part of the figure of the pork-butcher's wife is covered by the remains of the head of St. Edmund, painted over the earlier work in the fifteenth century; and to the eastward of the whole subject is a figure of an armed knight, which may have some connection with the earlier subject, or may be intended for a representation of St George. The large leg of St. Edmund cuts across one of the skeletons in the allegorical painting of "The Three Living and the Three Dead" (Plate V.).

This curious subject, which has been frequently met with,[2] would appear to be not more than thirty or forty years later in date than the legend of St. Margaret; and from the occurrence of the same sort of chevron pattern for the ground or pavement in it and in the picture of St. Nicholas, it may well be of the same date as the latter,

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[1] Among the other scenes which figure in the MS. are: Margaret conquers two devils; placed between two gaolers, she disputes with Olibrius; plunged naked into a cauldron of boiling water; again disputes with the governor; an executioner leads her away, three women following her; she prays to our Lord for women in childbed who may invoke her intercession; the executioner cuts off her head, whilst a violent storm kills the assistants; Margaret is placed in the tomb; and, lastly, angels present her to our Lord.

[2] Twenty-five instances of its occurrence in England are recorded in the South Kensington *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations*. France furnishes many examples; and in the Campo Santa, Pisa, is the well-known painting by Andrea di Orgagna, of the latter part of the fourteenth century.

i.e. c. 1300. The drawing of the three youthful kings on their prancing steeds is spirited and good; their curling locks, crowns, and sceptres, their flowing robes, and gloves with pendent ends, are well shown, as are also the three grim skeletons, their ribs marked out with white, mopping and mowing at them, reminding one of Wordsworth's lines in *The Excursion*, Book I. :—

> "Strange and uncouth; dire faces, figures dire,
> Sharp-kneed, sharp-elbow'd, and lean-ankled too,
> With long and ghostly shanks—forms which once seen
> Could never be forgotten!"

and of the reminder met with on many a mediæval tomb or brass—

> "Loke, suche as we ar, suche schall ye be,
> And such as we were, suche be ye."

The peculiar interest of this Charlwood painting lies in the fact that it is probably the oldest remaining representation of this curious allegory—the original of the later "Dance of Death," so much more widely known through Holbein's famous picture. In any other country but England steps would be taken to save such a priceless relic of early art, now almost invisible.

The writer makes no apology for reproducing the accompanying illustrations, taken from drawings published in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxi. They are there stated to have been made from drawings by the celebrated architect and antiquary, Mr. W. Burges.

EAST CLANDON

There are slight traces of an early scheme of painting on the walls of this church, the most considerable portion of which is on the west wall of the nave. It is in a very imperfect state, but one subject is plainly The Last Supper, and the tablecloth with dishes, cups, and wafers like hot-cross buns ⊕ can be made out. The other subject

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cannot be deciphered. From the general resemblance to the early paintings at Pyrford, these would seem to be of the latter part of the twelfth century.

CROYDON

In 1844 and 1857 two interesting paintings were discovered upon the south wall of the nave of this church, adjoining, and both close to a western gallery. The first found was a St. Christopher; the second our national patron, St. George, so often painted in conjunction with the other. Both appeared to have been executed *c.* 1390, and to have been coeval with the nave and its roof, destroyed in the disastrous fire of 5th January 1867. Happily, drawings of St. Christopher are preserved in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. ii. pp. 267–68), and in the late J. Corbet Anderson's *Chronicles of Croydon*, p. 188. The latter also gives an excellent drawing of the St. George.

St. Christopher is shown with his uprooted sapling, staggering across the river, scrolls, bearing rhyming inscriptions, issuing from his mouth. Of the Holy Child, seated on his left shoulder, hardly a trace remained; but the hermit, seated in the doorway of his oratory, and holding a lantern to light the way, was very distinct, as also was a portcullised gateway on the right to the rear (westward) of the saint, and above it the masonry or brickwork of a wall, in which was a window, framing the heads of a king and queen. The figure of St. George, with lance in rest, shield, and high-cruppered saddle, was mounted upon a white charger, richly caparisoned, in the act of slaying the dragon, of which only the paws remained; while behind him, with a characteristic head-dress, stood the bound figure of the rescued maiden in a supplicating attitude. The details of St. George's armour—his peaked helmet, "dagged" surcoat, and long-toed sollerets—were highly interesting, and make us the more regret the unhappy loss of these paintings. St. George's shield, with its left

corner cut out to allow of the passage of the lance, bore the usual red cross, and on his surcoat and the horse-trappings were painted studs or rosettes. The rescued maiden had the "tower" head-dress, familiar to us from the effigy of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III., in Westminster Abbey.

DUNSFOLD

A number of paintings were discovered here at a restoration which took place in the eighties in the nave of the church, but of these the only one remaining is a large indistinct subject on the south wall, within the area of the timber bell-turret. As it is painted over a blocked window of *c.* 1290, it is probably of fifteenth century date.

The other paintings, which, it is said, were too decayed to be preserved, and apparently belonged to the earlier period (from which practically the whole of this very beautiful church dates), are represented by coloured copies, made to a reduced scale and framed upon the south wall—a practice which is much to be commended where the paintings themselves cannot be preserved. They include the Nativity and the Coronation of Our Lady. Among other destroyed subjects are said to have been The Fall of Man, St. Christopher, St. George, and the Three Dead and Three Living.

FETCHAM

When this church was first restored, in 1857, several paintings were discovered, only to be destroyed; but of these a record was preserved of the most interesting in the shape of a full-size drawing, which happily still remains in the possession of the Surrey Archæological Society in their museum at the Castle Arch, Guildford. This represents a painting of about the year 1200, upon the back of a pointed-arched recess of that date, that still remains in the east wall of the north transept, and which recess was

doubtless formed to contain an altar. The painting was executed in tempera with brown outlines, yellow and a bluish green being employed in some of the figures and background work. The subject was the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is seated with our Lord upon a cushioned throne beneath a canopy. Our Lord holds a sceptre in His left hand, and His right is stretched forth to place the crown on His Mother's head. On the left is a figure with a harp—probably their ancestor, David; and on the right a kneeling figure in a hairy mantle—no doubt representing John the Baptist. Below are bands of masonry, scroll-work, and arcading.[1]

The curious "morality" of "The Three Dead and the Three Living," found also at Charlwood and Dunsfold, and other subjects, such as Extreme Unction and Purgatory, are said to have been uncovered and destroyed.

GODALMING

It is said that in the mischievous "restoration" of 1840 many wall-paintings were uncovered, only to be destroyed. Happily, the ignorant blundering of those dark days did not go much beneath the surface, and many interesting blocked windows of the Norman and Early English periods seem to have escaped notice, remaining blocked till the more enlightened period of 1879, when, during the alterations then carried out, these windows were unblocked, disclosing colour decoration of two periods, each of considerable interest.

Fig. 1 shows the coeval painting, of rude but effective character, upon the splays of two Early Norman windows in the chancel. The date of these is about 1100, and the fret and saw-tooth patterns on the heads, in dark red on white against a buff ground, are undoubtedly of the same

[1] On another altar recess, part of which remains on the northern side of the chancel-arch, are some roses and stars in red on a white ground.

date, and rank among the earliest of such simple colour patterns remaining in England. Some slight traces of similar painting were found upon the heads of the other chancel windows of this period, but those of the transepts do not appear to have been painted.

In the south chapel, on the partially unblocked splays of some destroyed lancets in the east and south walls,

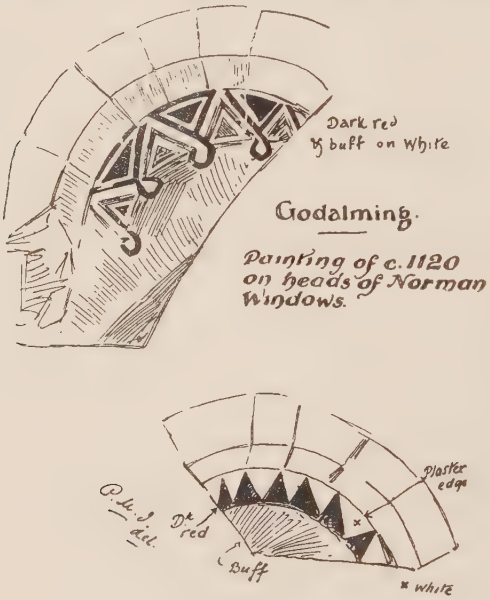

Fig. 1.

are some very valuable paintings coeval with the lancets (*c.* 1200). These paintings, elaborately executed in several colours, consist principally of figures, about life-size, within trefoil-headed canopies. St. John the Baptist appears on the east splay of the easternmost lancet on the south side. He has a long face, disproportionately large, with long hair and a beard, and wears a garment of camel's hair. In his hand he holds a disc, on which is the Agnus Dei. Having been covered up from the date of the blocking of the lancets,

which cannot have been much more than fifty years after the date of execution, these paintings are in an excellent state of preservation. The chequer pattern on the shafts of the canopy and the little capitals are very interesting points of detail.

ST. MARY'S, GUILDFORD

Next to the famous picture at Chaldon, the paintings in this church are perhaps the most valuable left to us in Surrey; but interesting as they are, there is every reason to suppose that they are but a small remnant of great schemes of colour and sacred imagery which once covered the walls, most of which, in ignorance or wanton carelessness, has been destroyed within the last half century. So lately as 1895 a veritable fragment of pre-Conquest painting had survived all the changes and chances of rebuilding and restoration, only to be destroyed by workmen let loose in the church with a general order to colour-wash everything! The famous paintings in St. John's Chapel were only rescued just in time.

When first sketched by the writer in 1888, this painting was plainly visible on the inner splay of what had been a double-splayed window in the south wall of the Saxon tower. The plan of this window and its fellow in the north wall may be likened to the shape of a dice-box—*i.e.*, it has a narrow "waist," represented by the actual loop or opening in the centre of the thickness of the wall, from which the splays spread equally, both outwards and inwards, the width of the loop being only 10 inches, while that of the splayed opening is 2 feet. These windows, which, in common with the tower, may date from 950 to 1050, were blocked up about 1100, when arches were pierced in the walls of the tower beneath them to form transepts. In this manner the painting to be described was preserved till its discovery in 1866, when the blocking was removed.

The subject of the painting was the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the figure of Abraham was plainly discernible against a red background, while on the arch of the splay over was part of an inscription in white letters on the same red ground, **ABRAHAM,** and beneath it other letters, not so distinct, which looked like **OTR DH** (see Fig. 2).

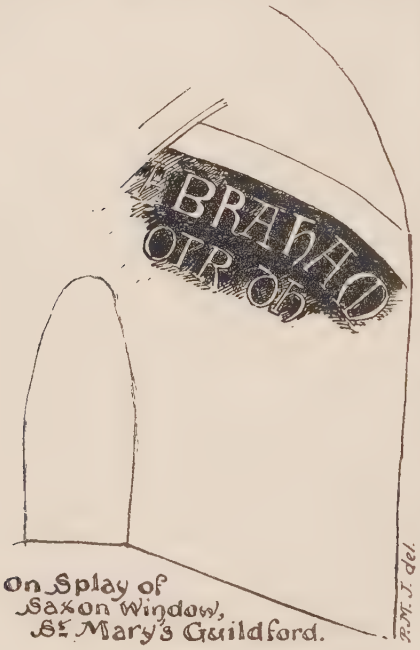

Fig. 2.

When doing other work in this church, the writer tried to scrape off the coating of colour-wash which had been so stupidly applied by the workmen, with the result that faint traces of the letters are now visible, but the figure had been entirely destroyed. The letters compare very closely with some of pre-Conquest date, discovered in 1909 by the writer on the walls of the chancel of Stoke d'Abernon Church, a few miles away.

The spandrels of the arch at the chord of the apse forming the Chapel of St. John, on the north of the chancel, have the faint remains of (on left) THE WEIGHING OF SOULS, and (right) HELL MOUTH (Plate VI.). In the former a tall angel, St. Michael, is holding the scales, which a grotesque, horned devil, probably meant for Satan himself, is trying to weigh down with his foot, while a small nude figure between them turns in a supplicating posture towards the archangel. The quaintly elongated figure of St. Michael, his angular

attitude, as he stoops to hold forth the scales, and the quilted or diapered pattern upon his robe (now almost obliterated), are noteworthy. Beyond, near the crown of the arch, is a piece of trefoil leafage. Hell Mouth, now very indistinct, used to show the familiar gaping jaws, into which a hideous pot-bellied demon is dragging two condemned souls, behind whom is the angel whose office it is to execute the decree of condemnation, and who is painted as if driving these lost souls to perdition. The figures are all painted in flesh-colour against a red ground, and bear a general resemblance to those in the famous painting at Chaldon (*q.v.*). The writer some years ago discovered, with the aid of a scaffold, that the gable wall above these fragments retains, beneath a coat of later plastering, a large subject, of which these pieces in the arch spandrels no doubt formed part, and there can be little doubt that the whole painting formed a Doom, or Last Judgment. It is very much to be desired that this later plastering above the tie-beam of the roof should be removed and the complete subject exposed. It might prove to present some of the exceptionally interesting features found at Chaldon. Close under the tie-beam, over the apex of the arch, is part of the outer border of a great circle, which has evidently framed in a big subject, such as Our Lord in Glory with the Four Living Creatures. Probably the rest of this remains behind the later coat of plaster. The date of the spandrel paintings and of the hidden painting above is that of the arch and chapel—viz. *c.* 1185.

The arch to this apsidal chapel on the north side of the chancel has itself been richly decorated. A very good idea of the patterns can be obtained from the coloured plates in the original edition of Collings's *Gothic Ornament*, accompanying which are an admirable plan of the apsidal chapel and a minutely accurate perspective drawing, showing it in its unrestored state, and giving an excellent idea both of these interesting patterns on the arch and vault-ribs, and of the disposition of the subjects painted upon the

severies of the vault.[1] The writer, by good fortune, made coloured sketches of parts of the ornamental patterns in 1888, before they fell a prey to the besom of destruction, and with the aid of these and such slight indications as remained upon the chalk voussoirs of the arch and ribs, he restored sample pieces of the colouring on both. The colours used were deep Indian red, emerald green, azure blue, and yellow ochre, and the effect, when perfect, must have been unusually rich and striking. In the accompanying drawing (Fig. 3), parts of the heart-shaped pattern—in red on the arch soffit, and the scroll and nebule patterns, in red and yellow on the vault ribs—are figured from the sketches made in 1888. The heart-shaped pattern, with its interlaced foliage, is peculiarly graceful. On the same drawing are reproduced parts of the spandrels of the vault, with beautiful flowing scrolls in white, shaded with pale blue, and outlined in black against a pale red ground. These still exist, though much less distinct than when these drawings were made. The central flower in spandrel A is especially elegant. In Mr. Collings's drawings, above referred to, a different and more elaborate flower is given; but this, at some subsequent date, has been coarsely repainted, and has lost all value. This work on the vault-ribs and severies is somewhat of a puzzle as to date. There can be no question that it is later than the paintings on the spandrel of the main arch, but the writer, after very careful examination of the whole from a scaffold, has come to the conclusion that the interval between the two is not more than a quarter of a century. That is to say, *c.* 1185 is the date of the earlier, and about 1210 that of the ornament painted on the arch and vault-ribs and the subjects on the vault severies. It is a regret to him to differ in these dates from so eminent an authority as the late Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., whose interpretation of the subjects in the vaulting

[1] A delightful steel engraving of the chapel and its paintings occurs in Brayley's *History of Surrey;* but the accompanying sketches, by Prosser, of the paintings are grotesque parodies, and so inaccurate as to be misleading.

is unchallengeable.[1] In the year 1900 the writer was called in to apply a preservative treatment to these paintings, and

Fig. 3.

the opportunity thus afforded of close inspection and

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., and *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. x. pp. 1–19.

comparison has convinced him (1) that there are two dates in the work; and (2) that the suggestion adopted by Mr. Waller that the paintings are as late as 1259, when one William the Florentine is known to have been employed amending the pictures in the great hall at Guildford Castle, places the work, or any part of it, at a date altogether later than its style warrants.[1]

The figure subjects within medallions painted on the severies of the vault are of the greatest interest. There are six of these, which vary in size between 3 feet and 4 feet in diameter, each painted in the widest part of the severy, the spandrel pieces being occupied by the beautiful scroll-work, of which examples are given in Fig. 3. Besides these, in the centre of the three bays into which the vault of the apse is divided, is a life-size figure of OUR LORD IN GLORY, commonly known as a MAJESTY (Fig. 4). The figure, though roughly drawn and somewhat ill-proportioned, is not lacking in dignity or expressiveness. It is painted within a pointed oval or vesica, the background of which is yellow, with a border of blue, heightened by black and white lines against the red ground. Our Lord is shown as robed in a tunic covered with small circles in red, which give a sparkling effect at a distance, not unlike that of a shirt of mail, or a dress powdered with sequins. The hem at the throat and feet is embroidered. Over this is a blue mantle, with the folds shaded in red, giving a purple cast when seen from below. The hair is long and falls over the shoulders, and the face has a beard. His right hand is uplifted as in the act of benediction, with the thumb and two first fingers raised, while in the left He holds an open book on which the letters **A** and **O** appear to have been inscribed: but they and the features of the face, which were probably in some fugitive colour, such as a vegetable black, have disappeared. Above this on either side are flying angels, censing.

[1] The writer took the opportunity of the scaffold specially erected for him to make careful coloured tracings in facsimile of all the paintings, and by these he has recovered many details invisible from below.

Fig. 4.

The scenes painted in the medallions taken from north to south are as follow :—

I. (Plate VII. 1). An altar, vested, upon which stands a chalice beneath a burse or veil. A priest, in alb, amice, and chasuble, is holding up both hands, the right as in benediction ; from the clouds above issues the Manus Dei, also stretched forth in the act of blessing. In front of the altar is the prostrate figure of a woman, with hands folded, as in prayer, upon her breast. This, according to Mr. Waller, illustrates the legend of St. John raising to life Drusiana, a pious lady and disciple of Ephesus.[1] In the right hand half of the same medallion, the saint, in the same priestly attire, is depicted standing before three upright rods, while a shower of stones is falling down in front of him ; which, following the same legends, relates to a miracle performed by the Apostle, to convert a heathen philosopher and his disciples by turning these rods and stones from the seashore into gold and gems.

II. (Plate VII. 2). On the right is St. John, a youthful figure, seated in a chair, writing in an open book with a pen on a kind of desk or table, with a scribe's knife in his left hand. This represents the Evangelist writing his Gospel. On the left of the medallion St. John is shown drinking from the poisoned chalice, as related in the same legend, which tells how the saint by his preaching caused such an uproar at Ephesus that the temple of Diana and its famous image were destroyed. The pontifex, Aristodemus, stirred up the populace, so that they became divided into two parties ready to attack one another. St. John, in the cause of peace, offered to do anything that should quiet the tumult ; whereupon Aristodemus answered, "If thou willest that I believe thy God, I will give thee poison to drink ; and if no harm ensue it will appear that thine is the true God." He also stipulated that others should undergo the same ordeal, and two malefactors, about to be executed, were sent by the

[1] It is only right to state, however, that the prostrate figure appears to be vested in alb, amice, and chasuble, and looks much more like a priest than a woman.

(1)

(2)

(3)

PLATE VII. ST. MARY'S, GUILDFORD: PAINTINGS ON VAULTING.

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proconsul, who upon tasting the poison instantly fell dead. The Apostle then took the chalice, made the sign of the cross, drained the poisoned wine, and felt no harm. Aristodemus, still doubting, challenged St. John to raise the malefactors to life, which the Apostle did, casting his tunic upon them; and the pontifex and proconsul, with all their relatives, being thus converted, were baptized, and built a church in honour of the blessed John. In the picture, which is not very distinct, Aristodemus is seated in a judicial attitude, holding a sort of staff in his left hand, while he points with a long and curly forefinger at St. John, who with rolling eye and streaming locks is tilting back the chalice to drain the last drop, his right hand laid upon the right arm of the pontifex, as if to constrain his attention. At their feet lie the two corpses of the malefactors—with appropriately ugly and criminal faces—between whom Mr. Waller professes to have discovered the Apostle's tunic, but the writer believes it to be represented as in the act of falling upon the dead malefactors.[1]

III. In this medallion (Plate VII. 3) we have again two scenes. On the left is our Lord, seated, and holding a cross-staff in His left hand. Upon His bosom reclines a youthful figure in tunic and mantle, evidently intended for St. John.[2] By his side is a staff with a knob to the head intended for the pilgrim's *bourdon*. As a curious link with the subject on the right of the medallion, our Lord is stretching forth His right hand in benediction to a figure seated in a tub. This latter again represents St. John in the vat of boiling oil, realistically depicted like the iron-bound wooden wash-tub, with two ears on its sides, still in common use. The saint's hands are folded in prayer to Christ, while behind him

[1] It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Waller should have misread some of these small details, as the paintings are very indistinct when seen from below. Thus, Aristodemus appears to be in a standing posture, and the features of St. John writing his Gospel are visible, painted in pale pink. The malefactors are without any eyes—perhaps to emphasise the fact that they are dead.

[2] This may refer to the incident at the Last Supper, or to St. John in Patmos, "in the Spirit on the Lord's Day."

stands the executioner, who, with hideous face, distorted with cruel rage, is thrusting him down into the oil with a two-pronged fork—a very usual feature in such scenes in mediæval paintings. This scene, of course, represents the attempted martyrdom of St. John by the command of the Emperor Domitian, before the Latin Gate, at Rome. According to the *Legenda Aurea*, the saint emerged from the vat of boiling oil unharmed—*unctus non adustus.*

IV. Again two scenes in the one medallion; and in this case we have St. John the Baptist, by way of compliment to his namesake the Evangelist. In the centre appears a king, crowned, and seated cross-legged upon his throne. He is bearded and wears a savage expression. In his right hand he holds a fleur-de-lis sceptre, and his left is upraised, as though to pronounce sentence upon the Baptist, who, with meekly bowed head, is being led into his presence, a rope round his neck, by an executioner of the usual type, with grotesquely ugly features, sleeked down hair, and brutal mien. On the right of King Herod is the second half of the story—the Beheadal. The saint's body lies prone, with hands outstretched in prayer, and the head has just been struck off by the executioner, who, holding his sword, points with the left hand at the sky, as though terrified by some portent. His eyes are starting from his face with horror, and his hair in great elf-locks is bristling on end. There can be no doubt as to the artist's intention, so forcible is his rendering of the wretch's terror.

V. In this scene we have, in the centre, a representation of a font of chalice-shape with the bowl and stem drawn as if decorated with fluting, and joined by a rounded band at the waist. The head and shoulders of a nude figure appear above the rim, and there is no mistaking the Semitic features of the bearded upturned face, with its flowing hair, thick lips, hooked nose, and large dark eye. He is looking, as if in prayer, with joined hands, towards a standing figure of Christ, who, with cruciform nimbus, holds a cross-staff in His left hand, while with His right He gives

benediction to the converted Jew. Behind the latter, on the right of the picture, we have a bearded figure, wearing a Phrygian cap, or coif, and holding a deed in his hands, from which depend two seals. He is standing over a flood of water, shown by wavy lines of white and red alternately. Mr. Waller supplies the key to this puzzle. The story represented is that of the Jew who maltreated an image of Christ, as related by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria.[1] The scene is laid in the city of Berytus, where dwelt a number of Hebrews. It happened that near to their synagogue lived a Christian, who had put up an image of Christ upon the wall over against his bed. Changing his dwelling, he left the image behind, and the Jew who succeeded did not observe, or, at any rate, remove it; but a friend visiting him during a social banquet, perceived the image in the inner chamber, and, reviling him, denounced him to the chief priests of the synagogue, whence he was driven out half-dead. They then placed the image on the ground and enacted a series of outrages in imitation of those endured by our Saviour in the Passion, finally transfixing the body with a lance. To the amazement of all, a stream of blood and water flowed from the wound, and, a vessel being brought, it was immediately filled with the fluid and carried to the synagogue, where by its agency all manner of diseases and maladies of the body were cured. The blind received sight, the deaf regained their hearing, and other miracles were wrought, in consequence of which all believed in Christ and sought the Metropolitan, to whom they narrated all these happenings; and it was discovered that the image was the work of Nicodemus, the ruler of the Jews, who came to Jesus by night. After this, the Jews, having professed their conversion and faith, sought for baptism for the remission of their sins, and having received the holy

1 Historiæ Aloysii Lipomani, *De Vitis Sanctorum*, Libellus Athanasi. Episcopi Alexandrini de Passione imaginis nostri Jesu Christi, qualiter crucifixa est in Syria, in urbe Beryto citatur in Septima Synodo secunda Nicæna, &c.

rite, then desired that their synagogue should be consecrated in honour of the Holy Saviour of the world. This having been done, the miraculous blood and water which had flowed from the image was distributed in glass ampullæ throughout the churches. The writer concludes by the assurance that his story is very true.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the features in the picture correspond with the leading points in the story; that we have a Jew submitting to the rite of Baptism, that the flowing stream of alternate red and white lines represents the blood and water that flowed from the image, and that the man with the coif and the parchment and seals is the man of law making over the synagogue for use as a Christian church.

VI. In the last subject of the series we have the miracle of the casting out of the devil from the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman. The mother kneels to our Lord, with hands conjoined in prayer to Him. Behind her, drawn in chains by two frog-like devils with webbed feet, is the afflicted daughter, from whom, at the command of Jesus, two hideous demons appear to be issuing, the one of a dark red, the other in relief against it in white. Both have webbed feet, pointed ears, and contorted faces, with protruding bellies and outstretched clawed hands. These illustrate the plural nature of devil-possession: "Art Thou come to torment us before the time?" The figure here described as the daughter does not particularly resemble a woman, and behind is another figure whose identity is uncertain—that of a bearded man bearing a sword in his left hand, and pointing towards the demons that are being exorcised by our Lord. Mr. Waller suggests that the centurion whose servant was sick at Capernaum is intended. Our Lord in this picture, as in the others, has the cruciform nimbus, and bears the cross-staff in His right hand. This medallion is considerably bigger than the others, and the painting in parts is very much injured, while other parts have been coarsely touched up, making the details untrustworthy.

A few words as to the technique of these paintings. The range of colours is exceptional—white, yellow, pink, red, blue, green, and black being used. The purely decorative parts are excellent in design and execution; but the same cannot be said of the figure drawing, which is crude, and almost childish in places. The hands are especially ill-drawn, and the figures lack the graceful symmetry of the earlier ones at Chaldon, while the jumbled composition of the scenes is in striking contrast to the orderly arrangement so noticeable at the latter church. On the other hand, the general decorative effect and the varied, yet harmonious, scheme of colour, render these paintings a delight to the eye; and, needless to say, the exceptional, not to say unique, nature of the subjects, makes this church of St. Mary, Guildford, a Mecca to all students of ancient wall-paintings. It is to be lamented that parts have altogether disappeared during the last fifteen years, and that those that remain are dim and difficult to make out from below. Much mischief has been done by the fumes of the gas used in the church, and the church-cleaner's mop and broom have wrought grievous harm in the past. It is on record that the vault of the companion

Fig. 5.

chapel on the south side was also decorated with paintings, of which, unhappily, not a vestige has survived. Doubtless, also, the other walls of the church had many paintings beneath the thick coating of whitewash that covered them till the restoration of 1866, but the plastering was, after the fashion of those days, hacked off and renewed, and any other traces of mediæval colour decoration that then existed were for ever lost. The paintings in St. John's Chapel were uncovered as far back as 1825, and met with a kinder fate. The back of the vault having been asphalted, they are protected from without, but in spite of the careful spraying to which the writer subjected them in 1900, they appear to have got dimmer of late years.

HORLEY

Probably at the "thorough" restorations that have robbed this church of so much interest, many wall-paintings were either discovered and destroyed, or hacked off with the old plaster. The only fragments now remaining are some faint decorative patterns upon the east respond of the nave north arcade (see Fig. 5). These, which are coeval with the stonework (*c.* 1315), chiefly consist of a lily—very unconventionally drawn for the date—in dark red, and some rosettes. Probably an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the altar of her chapel, was in close proximity.

EAST HORSLEY

A crude "copy" in distemper on a panel of wall is preserved in this church, which may or may not represent with some approximation to truth a painting of St. Martin dividing his cloak with a sword, to present it to a beggar. At least we have in this a record that such a subject was discovered on the walls here when the church was restored (after a very "thorough" fashion) in the seventies. The figures are very grotesquely drawn—at least in this copy—

and the colouring is pink against a red ground. In date the paintings were probably coeval with the chancel and chancel-arch—*i.e.* of the early part of the thirteenth century.

LIMPSFIELD

All that now remains of decorative painting in this much restored church is some "stoning," with roses, on the splays of two lancets in the south wall of the chancel. Date *c.* 1230.

MERROW

In the desolating "restorations" that have swept away most of the ancient features of this church, a small piece of colour has escaped. It consists of an ornament of the "double comma," or interlaced crescent type, and it occurs on the arch leading from the south aisle to the south chapel, the date being about 1210 (see Fig. 6).

MERSTHAM

At various times, from the forties downwards, paintings have been discovered on the walls and pillars of this church. They have either been deliberately destroyed, or suffered to perish by neglect, so that now hardly a trace remains. On the pillars of the arcades are some faint outlines of figures, from the style of which (a lady's head-dress, in particular) we may place these fragments at about the beginning of the thirteenth century. There is a small consecration cross, of patée shape, on one of the pillars. At one time there are said to have been paintings of a bishop, the Blessed Virgin and Child, and the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury—the latter specially appropriate from the nearness of the church to the great pilgrim route. On the voussoirs of the chancel-arch, with its strangely foreign-looking capitals, are some simple patterns, fret, scroll, pellets, &c., in red, green (?) and yellow, coeval with the arch, *c.* 1190 (see Fig. 6). In St.

Katherine's Chapel, on the south of the chancel, is a niche with some red colouring of late-fifteenth century date.

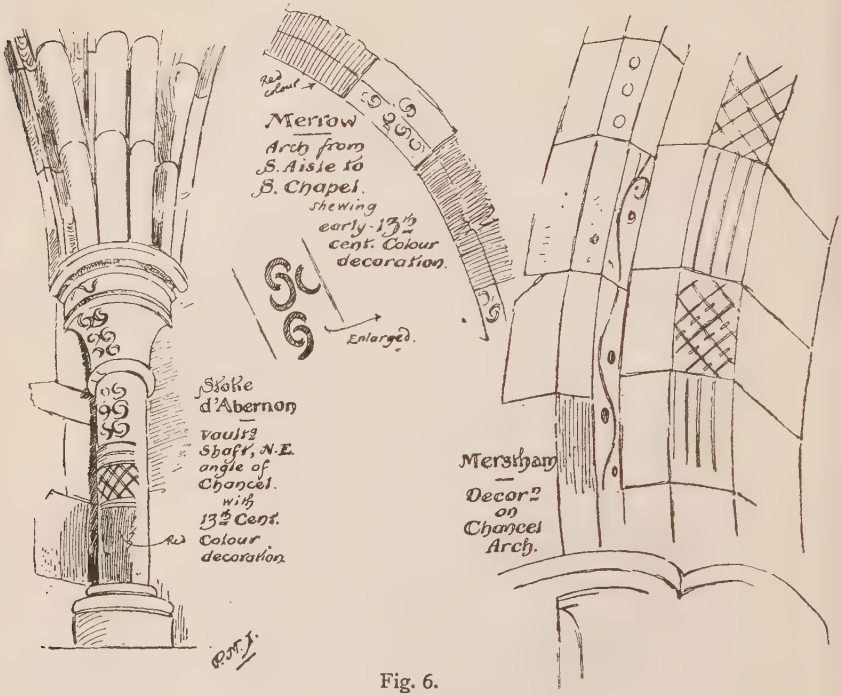
Merrow
Arch from S. Aisle to S. Chapel.
shewing early-13th cent. Colour decoration.
Enlarged.
Stoke d'Abernon
Vault Shaft, N.E. angle of Chancel. with 13th Cent. Colour decoration.
Mersham
Decor. on Chancel Arch.

Fig. 6.

NEWDIGATE

On the north wall of this interesting little church—a building originally of Transition-Norman date, with alterations and additions in the three successive styles, including the well-known timber tower at the west end[1]—a painting of St. Christopher, much injured, remained until a restoration of the destructive sort, about thirty-three years ago, swept

[1] *Vide* for full account of the church and the painting, vol. vi. of the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, where is a good illustration of the painting by the late Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A.

it away. To the eastward of the painting was a delightful window of the same date—both belonging to the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. The head splays and tracery of this window were powdered with painted fleur-de-lis and four-leaved flowers,[1] and the same fleur-de-lis, together with shields of arms, canopies, &c., remained in the coeval glass of the window.

The late Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., writing of the painting of St. Christopher before its unhappy destruction, says: "The painting at Newdigate is generally well-designed. Its execution displays considerable merit, being bold and vigorous in outline; and it may be ascribed to the latter half of the fifteenth century. There is the usual mode of treatment, viz., a gigantic figure sustaining upon his right shoulder a small one of the youthful Christ, who, in His left hand, holds the emblem of sovereign power—the orb surmounted by a cross; His right in the attitude of benediction. The giant is wading across a stream, supporting himself by a ragged staff, like an uprooted tree. His head, bound about with kerchief or turban, is turned round and upwards towards Christ, and, in all good examples, an anxious expression is given to the features of the saint. Upon the shore, to which he is wending, a figure in the attire of monk or hermit is holding a lantern as a guide across the waters. In the stream fish are shown disporting, and several ships are in this example, a device of the artist's to indicate a sea or water of great depth. It is a very usual convention.[2] Beneath the knees the figure is entirely obliterated, as well as every other part of the composition."

As Mr. Waller remarks, the painting would be seen by all who entered by the south door, the principal entrance to the church.

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[1] Windows similarly painted exist at Worth and Horsham, Sussex.

[2] *Cf.* the Aibury example, not discovered when Mr. Waller wrote this. The other paintings of St. Christopher that have been noted in Surrey are or were at Croydon (*vide Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 267) and Warlingham (*post*).

OAKWOOD

There have been paintings of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries in this small church—originally only a nave and chancel under one roof, but enlarged about 1887 by the addition of a north aisle, when the lancet windows and door in the old north wall were shifted to the new one. Unhappily, this step, excellent in itself, involved the destruction of an interesting series of paintings on the window-splays and walls. There were figures of saints and good decorative patterns. Now, all that remains are two paintings on the south side: (1) Near to the east wall The Visitation, of thirteenth century date, in which the figures of the Blessed Virgin and Elizabeth are plainly visible against a dark ground; and (2) further west, St. George and the Dragon, of late fifteenth century date. The latter has but lately been cleaned.

OCKHAM

There are many traces of wall-paintings, some only partially freed from whitewash, in this interesting church (far-famed for the unique group of seven richly-decorated lancets in its east window); but the only one of any extent or definite character is a beautiful decoration of ox-eye daisies upon a pale red ground over the chancel-arch. Painting and gilding have been found upon a piscina corbel, a beautiful corbel to an image-bracket in the north chapel, and some roof-bosses in the same.

It is a pleasure to record that in this case, as also in the churches of Pyrford and East Clandon, restored by Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A., wall-paintings have been carefully preserved. From personal experience the writer has proved that it is almost always possible to do this if a little care and thought is exercised.

As at Pyrford, so here, there is an interesting panelled

canopy over where the rood and its attendant images stood. This also shows traces of colour decoration.

PYRFORD

This curious little late-Norman church, of nave and chancel, sympathetically restored by Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A., in 1869, retains many fragments of its ancient colour decoration, brought to light at that time. Beneath the white-wash were discovered, firstly, paintings of the fifteenth century, on a very loose and tender coat, corresponding in age to alterations made in the building at this date; and, secondly, when these were removed, an earlier series, including three consecration crosses of the common form — a cross patée within a circle—on the west wall of the nave and on either side of the chancel, painted in dark red. These date from about the middle of the twelfth century, when the church was built. At the same time the walls of the nave (and probably also the chancel) were decorated with various subjects.[1] Those which remain are :—

Fig. 7.

1. North wall of nave, to the eastward of the Norman doorway: "The Sacraments of the Jews." Manna, in the

[1] These resemble in drawing some fragments of painting lately discovered upon the west wall of East Clandon Church, Surrey.

shape of circular wafers, is shown as descending, while two streams of water represent the miracle of Moses smiting the rock and the water gushing out. Very little of the figure of Moses is now visible, excepting a chasuble-like vestment and the feet. To the eastward of the last are the remains of another priestly figure, with a curious decoration of round red spots on the chasuble, which may represent Aaron. A later inserted window, further to the eastward, has destroyed the painting in this direction, but beneath the upper tier described is a running border of scroll foliage, rude and early in character; and in the lower tier are parts of two figures with upturned faces and outstretched hands: while beyond, to the eastward, is a nimbed figure, probably of an angel, gesticulating with open hands to some people, now almost destroyed. It is not clear whether this is a continuation of the subject above. If so, the angel may be "The Angel of God's Presence." This angel has curious round spots over his dress, like the priestly figure over him, and these occur on a figure on the opposite wall, reminding one of the conventional dappling of Mr. Punch's horse.

2. On the south wall the principal subject, to the eastward of the Norman doorway, is even more strange. It is the story of Jezebel and Jehu. A lofty wall, with latticed windows, masonry, and parapet, is shown, at the foot of which is a procession of six small figures, each bearing a staff or spear, and the hindmost leading Jehu's horse. Jehu, standing in front, is drawn to a larger size, and appears to be directing those above to throw Jezebel down, while the head of the wicked queen, "tiring herself," also drawn disproportionately large, is to be seen above one of the windows (Fig. 7). The picture is incomplete, but there can be little doubt that this is the interpretation of it.[1]

Eastward of this, and separated from it by a space, in which is a corbel for an image or a lamp, is a scene in the

[1] Michal, Saul's daughter, mocking at King David, as he danced before the ark, has been suggested as an alternative interpretation to this, but the details do not fit in.

Passion of our Lord—no doubt originally one of a series. This is the Scourging. Part only of the bound figure of our Lord remains, but that of one of the executioners—a ruffian with a peculiarly brutal expression—is fairly perfect (Fig. 8), and the pose and drawing of this figure are full of vigour. He is throwing back his body to give the better swing to a scourge of weighted cords which he holds in both hands. He has a short tunic, which appears to be spotted with red patches—perhaps in this case intended for the blood of the Sacred Victim—and the twist of his body, with the contorted attitude of the legs, give a very realistic look to the action represented. In the same church is a somewhat rare feature—a panelled roof canopy, a yard or so in width, over which the Rood and its attendant images stood or hung, which displays some remains of its original fifteenth century colouring—chiefly in yellow and white flowers.

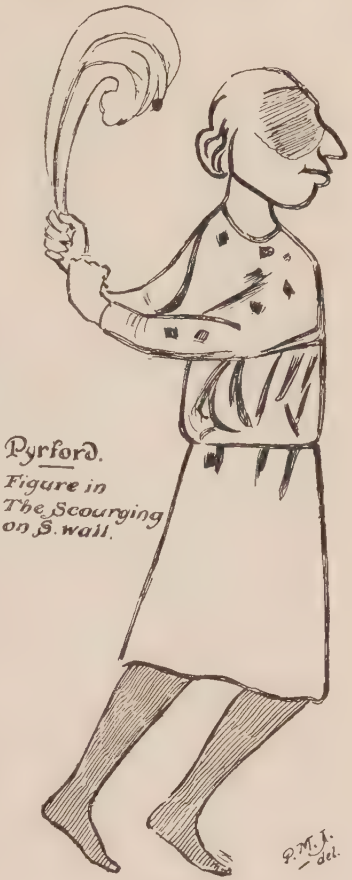

Fig. 8.

SHERE

Here is a church that must have been rich in mediæval paintings, but the only fragment now remaining—or at

least it was there when the writer drew it in 1888—is a very graceful vine trail on the soffit of the beautiful east window of the chancel, dating from about 1320. This little fragment of painting is of the same date (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9.

STOKE D'ABERNON

This church must have been a mine of wealth in regard to its mural paintings, as well as in archæological interest generally, until the "restoration" that took place in 1866, when, besides other terrible mischief done, the walls were almost entirely replastered, and many paintings of the highest value destroyed, including one of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Let us be thankful, however, for small mercies, and count up the few treasures left to us. They are:—

1. Fragments of an extremely early inscription discovered by the writer in the summer of 1909 on the upper part of the chancel walls, *above* the vaulting of *c.* 1210, and consequently, of an antecedent date, either pre-Conquest or post-Conquest. The writer, being engaged in superintending

repairs to the north chapel, discovered the start of an early ovoid apse behind the plastering of the north wall of the chancel, and that that wall had been straightened out by the building of a face of rubble in the twelfth, or early-thirteenth, century, when the predecessor of the existing Norbury chapel (of late-fifteenth century date) was erected by one of the d'Abernons. The original wall, which appeared to be of the same height as at present, was built of flint and stone rubble and Roman bricks, set in pounded brick mortar, and therefore unmistakably of Roman date; and it had been plastered with a pink plaster, also made

Fig. 10.

with pounded brick, both inside and out. Having made this important discovery, the writer obtained permission to examine the roof-space over the vaulting of *c.* 1210, and at once found the inner face of the ovoid curve of the apse on the north side. On the south it had been destroyed when the chancel was made square-ended, in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Having removed a great quantity of dust and miscellaneous objects from the pockets of the vaulting (finding in so doing several thin pieces of very old wood, fragments of stone mouldings, Roman plaster, and a pillar-piscina bowl of early twelfth century date), the writer at once discovered that the Roman walls above the vault were painted in a thin coat of tempera, dim and powdery with age, directly over the face of the Roman plaster. The

thirteenth century vaulting showed plainly where this early plaster had been hacked off to receive the springers of the vault, and the painting that remained was not more than 2 feet in width at the deepest point. Beneath the thirteenth century wall-plate of the roof was a broad band of a purplish-pink, then one of cream colour, next a pair of chocolate lines ¾ inch wide enclosing an inscription border 4½ inches in width, beneath which were two lines, pink and chocolate, and the beginning of a painted circular arch, such as might have framed one of the original round-headed windows, or a canopy to a scene or saint's figure. Some of these bands of colour, but nothing else, appeared also on the east face of the chancel-arch wall, and on the north wall of the chancel. The lettering of the inscription band is in an early type of Lombardic or semi-Roman capitals, such as is found in the Saxon MSS. and in the few examples of pre-Conquest and late eleventh century paintings which have come down to us.[1] The accompanying reproduction (Fig. 10) of a drawing made at the time of the discovery of this valuable early fragment, gives as accurate an idea of the inscription as the writer was able to obtain under very difficult conditions. The cross and the **H** next to it are in red, the other letters in purple-pink and chocolate. Beyond the word **HIC** = here—suggesting reference to a picture below, as in the case of the Bayeux tapestry—no other word remains entire, unless it be the **CARIT** that precedes it before the ✠-stop. This latter word *may* be a contraction of **CARITAS,** charity, in its nominative or other form. The contraction mark through the stem of the **T** is fairly clear.

2. On the western face of the only ancient pillar in the

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[1] *Cf.* the destroyed painting on a Saxon window splay, St. Mary's, Guildford, referred to above; also the Leonine hexameters at Hardham Church, Sussex, *c.* 1100 (vide *Memorials of Old Sussex*), and destroyed paintings of the same date at Plumpton and Westmeston, Sussex, recorded in the *Sussex Archæological Collections;* also the inscriptions accompanying the scenes on the Bayeux tapestries.

nave arcade is a dim crucifix—little more than a mere stain on the absorbent calcareous firestone of which the pillar is composed. The splayed ends of the cross, the cruciform nimbus, the loin-cloth and bent knees, and the entire outline of the Sacred Figure are discernible, painted in pink, dark red, and white; and there

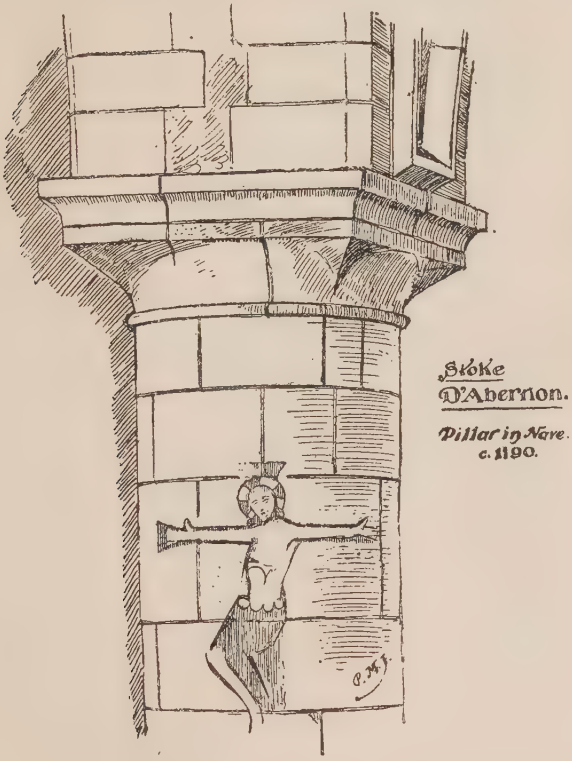

Fig. 11.

are traces of other figures. The date is probably that of the pillar, viz., *c.* 1190 (Fig. 11).

3. In the chancel several fragments remain, which may be considered together, as they are the work of one period—that of the virtual rebuilding in *c.* 1210. On the south wall,

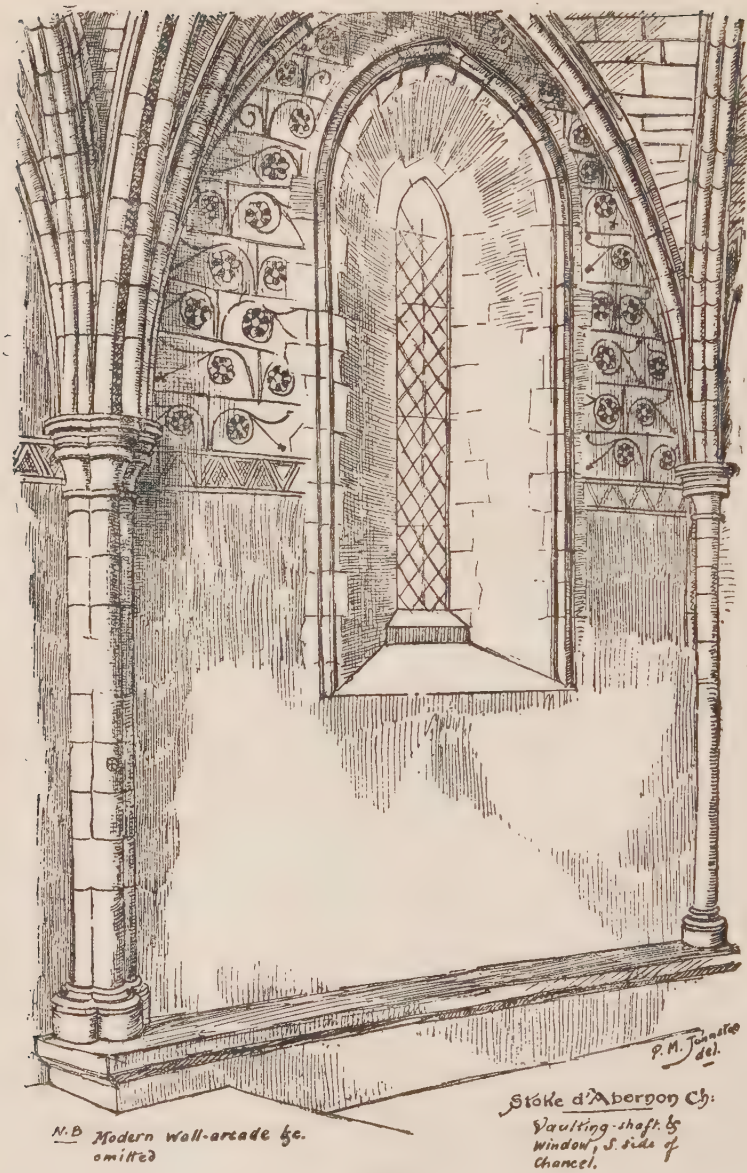
P. M. Johnston del.
Stoke d'Abernon Ch:
Vaulting-shaft & Window, S. side of Chancel.
N.B Modern wall-arcade &c. omitted

Fig. 12.

in the western of the two bays into which the chancel is divided by its vaulting-shafts, is a piece of "stoning" or masonry pattern (Fig. 12), with somewhat elaborate scrolls and roses, very irregularly executed, some of the horizontal lines being noticeably wavy (Fig. 13). The ground tint is a

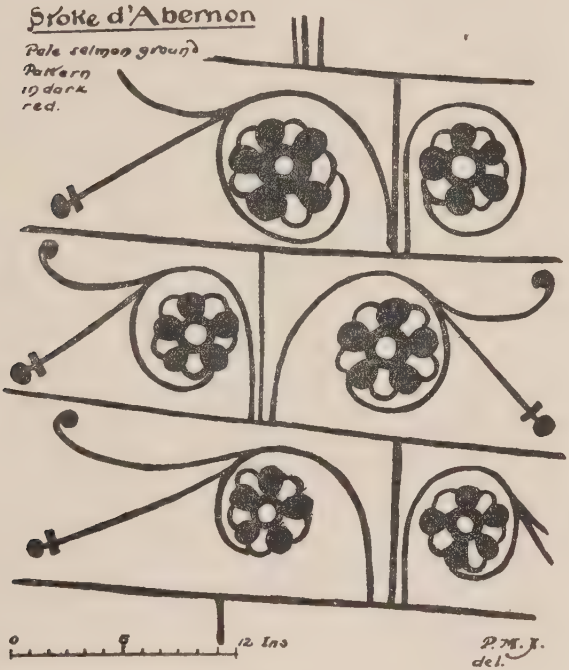

Fig. 13.

pale pink, upon which the pattern is painted in dark red, heightened with white. The modern imitation of this old pattern is curiously formal and spiritless. On the mouldings of the beautiful lancets in this south wall are traces of dark red and black. The two easternmost vaulting-shafts have curious patterns upon them, and on their capitals. Having been buried in plaster since the fifteenth or sixteenth century until 1866, they are quite fresh in places. The

illustration (Fig. 6) shows the shaft in the N.E. angle. It has, first, a wavy line on the upper part of the cap; secondly, a characteristic ornament of the period—the "double comma"—on the bell of the capital and the upper part of the shaft;[1] next a rope pattern on the necking; a lattice of red lines on the shafts, and below this a solid block of red. On the same illustration is shown precisely similar decorations from Merrow Church, a few miles to the westward, suggesting that, as the stonework also is of about the same early-thirteenth century date, the same artist may have executed both.

The east wall seems originally to have had no window, the entire field being taken up with a large subject—probably the Adoration of the Lamb. A three-light window, of late-fifteenth, or early-sixteenth century date, replaced by the incongruous modern triplet of lancets, broke through and destroyed all the central part of this composition, but, fortunately, the wall to the south of the window still preserves a section of the subject, and, besides bands of foliage and pateræ, we have angels blowing pipes or trumpets, and pointing towards the centre of the picture; beneath these are a number of demi-figures, intended for the innumerable multitude of the redeemed; while, below again, is one of the twenty-four crowned Elders, seated on his throne, and playing a harp; his crown, face, robes, and harp being fairly perfect (Plate VIII.). A curious detail is that the hand on the further side of the harp-strings is outlined in pink, instead of dark red, so as to give an effect of "distance." The colours used are red, pink, yellow, and white. The ancient painting, most unwisely, has been finished off where destroyed, and repeated on the modern side of the window, with most confusing result.

The figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury above alluded

[1] This pattern of interlaced crescents, or double commas, is suggestive of the East and of Crusading influence. It occurs in colour decoration of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in France and England. Possibly it was intended for a conventional imitation of marbles, such as that formerly dug around Petworth, Sussex, which is full of large round winkle shells.

PLATE VIII. STOKE D'ABERNON CHURCH: ON EAST WALL.

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to was found painted upon the back of an early altar recess, one of two that flanked the chancel-arch prior to 1866.[1] A poor, inaccurate pen-and-ink sketch of this is in the possession of the Surrey Archæological Society, and it shows the martyred archbishop, with mitre and crozier, giving absolution to a kneeling figure in chain and plate armour. There was also some foliage scroll-work, and a background of stars and small crescent moons. The date, owing to the careless nature of the drawing, is difficult to fix, but possibly the early part of the fourteenth century would fit the work. There is a tradition that one of Becket's murderers held lands in this parish, and that the painting was thus in the nature of a votive offering on the part of his descendants.

Fig. 14.

WARLINGHAM

Down to about 1885 this church retained a tympanum of timber framing filled with clay pugging, in place of the usual chancel-arch, and originally forming a background to

[1] These interesting recesses, marking the sites of former rood-altars (*cf.* Fetcham), together with the chancel-arch (around which was a good deal of Roman brickwork), were destroyed in that year, and in place of them the present most deplorable Bath stone arch erected.

the low rood-screen, which had long since disappeared. Upon the plastered western face of this tympanum the writer, in 1881, noted some then-existing fragments of painting, of which he made a coloured drawing. They consisted of a vine with bunches of grapes in red and green, the heads of angels, and some roses in a brown colour, all painted on a dull yellow ground, and evidently originally designed as a setting for the Rood, St. Mary, and St. John (Fig. 14). Unhappily, on the plea that it was decayed, this rare feature was destroyed, and when the writer restored and enlarged the church in 1893 no trace of it remained. A small piece of the same vine pattern was, however, found at this time on the north wall of the nave, showing that it had originally been continued from the tympanum to the walls adjoining. It was of late-fifteenth century date.

Fig. 15.

On the same north wall, opposite to the south door, there still remains a rude painting, also of this date, of St. Christopher, which the writer took steps to protect from further decay shortly after the restoration of 1893–94 (Fig. 15). It remains (1910) in very good condition. The saint has a red beard, and is of the usual gigantic stature. He has a purplish-blue bonnet and cloak, and grasps the uprooted sapling in his hands, as he fords the river with the Child Jesus upon his shoulder. The usual accompanying details are wanting.

WISLEY

In this tiny church, consisting only of nave and chancel, are slight remains of painting in what has been an altar recess on the north of the chancel-arch, consisting of some red colour and simple patterns. Also, on the heads of the mid-twelfth century windows in the east and south walls of the chancel, are some flowers of pointed quatrefoil shape, arranged with lines in a sort of diaper.

WITLEY

This church must at one time have been rich in mediæval paintings. At present the only one remaining, except mere fragments of colour (as *e.g.* on the east wall of the south transept), is on the south wall of the nave, and its date, which may be placed within the first half of the twelfth century, gives it additional interest. It measures about 16 ft. in length by perhaps 9 ft. in height, but is evidently part only of a scheme which covered the entire nave, recalling in the two tiers into which it is divided and in the drawing and colouring those remarkable paintings of the early Lewes school, of which examples survive at Hardham and Clayton churches in Sussex.[1] The colours are pink, white, and yellow, on a red background. The subjects are uncertain, but the upper tier seems to contain scenes relating to the Nativity of our Lord; and the lower, legendary incidents in the lives of the saints. A nimbed figure in this lower tier carries a T-headed staff, such as early ecclesiastics seem to have used. The background includes buildings having arcaded towers and dome-shaped roofs with scale-pattern tiles.

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[1] Vide *Memorials of Old Sussex*, where the writer has illustrated parts of both series of paintings.

NOTE.—*The thanks of the writer are due to the Victoria County Histories Syndicate and to the Council of the Surrey Archæological Society, for permission to use some of the drawings and blocks with which this paper is illustrated.*

THE ABBEY OF BERMONDSEY

By F. R. Fairbank, M.D., F.S.A.

CLUNIAC monks came into England soon after the Norman Conquest, and attracted attention. Monasteries of the Order were founded, and among the earliest are those of Lewes and Bermondsey. The Cluniacs were a branch of the Benedictines, and they originated in a desire to consolidate those monks into an "Order," united, and self-regulating. The Benedictines had been clustered together in houses which were individual families under an abbot, and under the control of the bishop of the diocese; but there was little union between the various monasteries. This was felt to be a source of weakness, both for the discipline of the monasteries, and for their protection from outside attacks. The idea of the Cluniac Order was to have all its various houses under the control of one head house, and that was Cluni. The abbot of that house ruled all the other houses; he appointed the heads of each, and all the novices were received into the Order in his name. The various houses were priories dependent on the head house, and not elective convents. They had to account to the Abbot of Cluni for their income and expenditure, and to send yearly sums of money to Cluni. When their head—the prior—died or resigned, the monks of the house could not elect his successor, but had to accept one chosen and appointed to that office by the Abbot of Cluni. The monks were mostly foreigners, and the priors were invariably so. The Order was never popular in England, and the number of monasteries was at no time large. At the time of the Dissolution

under Henry VIII., the total number in England was under forty. There were some differences in the rule from that of the Benedictines, such, for instance, as there were two high masses celebrated each day. The tone of the Order was highly ritualistic; they went in for great ceremonies.

The first monastery established in England is said to have been that at Barnstaple, then came the great house at Lewes, and Bermondsey followed shortly after. In the year 1082, Alwyn Childe, a citizen of London, gave to the monks of Cluni, by licence of the king, many rents in London, and founded the Priory of Bermondsey; he also encouraged many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and others, to give gifts, lands, and manors. It is recorded in Domesday Book, that at that time there was already erected a new and beautiful church to the honour of the Saviour; they had also twenty acres of meadow, and a wood yielding pannage for pigs. In 1089, on April 17, three monks, Peter, Richard, and Umbald, came from La Charité, in France, a monastery dependent on Cluni, to take possession of the new monastery, and Peter was made the first prior, by order of the Prior of La Charité. The same year the king gave them the royal manor of Bermondsey. Alwyn Childe, the founder, survived until 1092. Among other early benefactions, Robert Marmion gave a hide of land called Witheflete, or Wideflete, in Southwark, with a mill, and other lands in Southwark, Lambeth, Kennington, and Newington. The mills of Wideflete were for a time rented from the priory by the Knights Templars. In 1145 Walkelyn Mamynot gave half Grenewich. The church of Camberwell was given by William, Earl of Gloucester; Thomas Arderne gave the church of St. George, Southwark; King Henry I. gave the churches of Codham and Schorn in Kent; King Stephen confirmed the gift of Waltheof, son of Swein, of the church of St. James, Derby; and he gave the church of Writell; the churches of Upton, Bengeho (Richmond), Chesham, and Warlingham, Bedington, Fyfehide, in Essex, Byrlyng, and others, were given about the same time.

In possessions the priory greatly prospered; and the internal prosperity of the house did not lag behind. Peter, the first prior, had died in 1119, and in 1206 his body was translated to a more holy and honourable position by Bernard, formerly Archbishop of Ragusa, who came to England with King Richard I. Two days afterwards, on St. Barnabas' Day, he consecrated the matutinal altar of St. Mary the Virgin, and All Saints. In 1213 the prior built the almonry, or hospital of the lay brothers and boys, in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The house was visited, according to the rule of the Order, periodically by visitors appointed by the Abbot of Cluni. In 1262 the then visitors reported that, after full inquiry, they found that all devotional offices and rites were most properly and becomingly performed; that silence was enforced; that correction of what was amiss and required reform was rigidly observed; and that almsgiving and hospitality were carried out according to custom. There were then thirty-two monks and one lay brother. In 1275–76, on a similar visitation, the report showed that the visitors on behalf of the Abbot of La Charité, to whom Bermondsey was immediately subject, had recently visited the house, and corrected what was amiss. The report also shows that the material prosperity of the house was already on the decline. There were then only twenty monks. The debts of the house had grown from 266 marks on the former occasion to 1000 marks of silver. The house had to pay a perpetual annuity of 100 marks to one of the king's chaplains, and five estates had been alienated. In 1278, John, the prior, had held office for four years. The devotional offices were all duly and properly performed. The necessaries of life were duly and fully provided. But the number of monks had still further decreased; there were then only eighteen; there ought to have been thirty-two; and the house was in a deplorable state of debt. Prior John stated that the debt, when he was appointed four years before, was 1700 marks, and then it was 2300 marks.

Amid all this trouble the straitness of their finances was further increased by the Pope himself. In December 1263, Urban IV. confirmed to Gregory de Londoniis, layman, gold-embroiderer of the Pope's household, a mandate of Pope Alexander, ordering the Dean of St. Paul's to cause to be paid to him (Gregory) 15 marks a year (£10) by the Prior and Convent of Bermondsey. And as they did not pay the money, the Dean issued a sentence of interdict against them, and cited them to appear within three months; and on their disregarding this, he, by authority of papal letters, excommunicated and suspended the prior, the subprior, cellarer, sacristan, and the convent, again citing them. Gregory himself having appeared, the Pope ordered the Bishop of Palestrina to hear the cause, and in the contumacious absence of the prior, gave sentence in his favour, condemning the prior in costs, and to remain excommunicated till full satisfaction was made. This sentence the Pope confirmed. This is dated Orvieto, October 15, 1263, and at the same place and date the Pope issued a mandate to the Bishop of London and the Archdeacon of Essex, to enforce the sentence given by the Bishop of Palestrina (*Papal Letters*).

About this time also the priory suffered from attacks by robbers. Southwark was then infested with villains of all kinds, who made marauding excursions in large companies, not only in Southwark and on the Surrey side of the Thames, but they crossed over to London and there committed depredations. To such an extent did this go that the Corporation of London laid the matter before the king begging an extension of their authority to the south side of the river, in order to put a stop to the nuisance. This was granted.

Concerning one of these depredations, King Edward, on April 14, 1284, issued a commission of Oyer and Terminer to inquire concerning the persons who entered the Priory of Bermondsey, and broke open the doors of the prior's chamber, and the chests and coffers there, and

carried away £68 in money, together with silver vessels and jewels of gold to the value of £40; they also imprisoned the prior himself, and his chaplain, and his yeoman (*Patent Rolls*). Six months later, on September 22, the priory was taken under the king's protection, at the request of Robert, Prior of Coulanges, proctor-general of the Prior of La Charité, who was making a visitation of the houses subject to that house. The king then issued a writ in aid of John, Prior of Wenlock, who was appointed to the custody of Bermondsey. A year later, namely, on October 5, 1285, the king appointed Robert, Prior of Coulanges, to the custody of Bermondsey during his pleasure. During these times of pressure from debt the priors had made improvident sales and leases of the estates of the monastery to a very serious extent. For Ompton 500 marks were received; from Adam de Stratton 700 marks for the wood called Chavor, and 600 marks for other woods; four other estates, Chor, Almeborim, Wydefort, and Walbant, had also been assigned to Stratton.

But all this to no purpose; the house got more and more into debt. A few years later some of their estates which they had thus got rid of came back to them in a curious manner. Adam de Stratton got into trouble and was convicted of felony, and his property came into the king's hands. Thereupon, on January 26, 1290, he regranted to the prior the manors of Halinbury, Wydeford, Cuwyck, Opton, and Richmond, which they formerly had of the gift of the king's ancestors, and which they had so indiscreetly got rid of, to hold the same as before; with the year, day, and waste, and the sown corn, which by reason of the felony belonged to the king (*Patent Rolls*).

During the whole of the thirteenth century the country was liable to great floods and consequent destruction of property; besides this, the south-east of England was much disturbed by seismic forces; parts were depressed and remained flooded by the sea, some portions after a time rising again to their former, or even higher level. The low-lying lands

to the south of the Thames are known to have been subject to being flooded at high tide, and a large tract was embanked from a very early period. When this embankment got broken through, either from neglect or malice, the consequences were most serious. This appears to have been the case about the time now spoken of. The general conditions are thus recorded by Matthew of Westminster, under date 1294: "And so this year, sufficiently productive both in corn and fruit, but very rainy, so that a great part of the crops eventually failed by becoming rotten. And owing to the torrents the Thames overflowed its accustomed limits, and covered and soaked the plains of Bermondsey and the liberties of Tothill. . . . And as the torrents of rain prevailed to a great extent, the valleys and pastures, which were near the rivers, were covered all over the kingdom for some time."

In the following year, 1295, the king again took the priory into his own hands because it could not pay its debts, and he committed it to a clerk, named David le Grant, during pleasure, so that he should expend all the issues, except the maintenance of the persons, without whom the priory could not be ruled, in blocking up the embankment of the priory, broken by inundation of the Thames, whereby the lands of the priory and those about it were at that time submerged. In 1298 a fresh prior was appointed by the Prior of La Charité to Bermondsey, and the king trusting him, restored the temporalities of the house. But the state of impecuniosity from these and other causes continued. In 1313 it was in evidence that both the Prior of Bermondsey and the Bishop of Bath and Wells had suffered much through the flooding of their land from the Thames; and the people who were bound to assist in the repair of the wall and banks near Bermondsey refused to do so. The king therefore delivered the lands of those people to the prior and the bishop until they (the latter) were satisfied. The prior at this time complained also that certain persons at Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Camberwell, and Peckham

had cut and carried away his corn growing on the lands lately assigned to him in those places. This was probably an act of revenge on the part of the delinquents. And later, in 1346, the prior complained that Alan Ferthyng of Southwark and twelve others broke and threw down his close and dykes at Bermondsey, and dug away so much of the ground that 140 acres of meadow were in consequence flooded, and the profit therefrom was lost to him. They also felled his trees and carried off his goods, and assaulted his men and servants, so that their service was lost to him for a long time. Bermondsey was by no means the only monastery that suffered from the turbulence of the people. Many cathedrals and religious houses had to be protected by being walled round, as Lincoln, York, Wells, Canterbury, Battle, and many others.

In 11 Edw. II., 1317–18, the Archbishop of Canterbury — Reynolds — interested himself in the priory. In that year there was an inquiry *ad quod damnum* with a view to an exchange between the archbishop and the prior and convent, of the advowson of the Church of Croydon, then belonging to the archbishop, for land in Wideflete,[1] being one hide and two mills, with the appurtenances, in Southwark. There is an instrument in Reynolds's Registers (1313–27) to the effect that since the revenue of the convent is greatly diminished by an inundation and its income miserably reduced: to prevent the convent being irrecoverably ruined, the archbishop appropriates to it the church of Croydon. This entry is not dated, but from the adjoining entries it should be dated about October 1320. The document is cancelled. The succeeding archbishops continued to present to it for many years, so doubtless the exchange did not then take place. The house continued to be repeatedly taken into the king's

[1] Wideflete had been held by the Knights Templars of the Prior and Convent; at their destruction it evidently went to the archbishop, being, doubtless, still held of the priory.

hands on account of waste and debt as heretofore. This was the case in 1327, and again in 1332.

It is evident that at Bermondsey there were special local reasons for impoverishment; but there were other reasons as well, which affected the whole of the Cluniac houses in England. As before said, they were not able to act for themselves and independently; they were little better than mere "cells" of the mother house, which was not in England but in France. What this meant to Bermondsey is seen from the *Annales* of that house. An extraordinary number of names of priors occur, many of them being recorded as dying within a year of appointment. Whether this really was the case may be doubtful, for the same names recur so frequently and so rapidly that there may have been confusion and doubt as to who was really prior at any particular time. This view appears to be confirmed by the fact that the names occurring in the Patent and Close Rolls do not always agree with those in the *Annales*.

These causes of weakness were inherent in the constitution of the Order. There was another reason of an external character. The houses of the Order being subject to a foreign house, and mostly inhabited by foreign monks, were looked upon with suspicion as spies and "enemies within our gates" by the king and Parliament; they were called and treated as aliens. When the country was at war with France, their property was all taken into the king's hands, and all income beyond that required for the bare maintenance of the monks was for the time appropriated to his use. There is evidence of this in the case of Bermondsey. In 1324 the Sheriff of Surrey was ordered to liberate the Prior of Bermondsey and his monks recently arrested as aliens, and to restore their goods, &c.; the prior undertaking not to send anything out of the country without the king's leave. The prior had to attend the annual Chapter of the Order at Cluni, and it was necessary for him to get the king's licence to go, and he received permission to take a certain sum only for his expenses.

This restriction, though it applied to the "alien" houses, applied also to houses of Orders which were not alien—Cistercians, Premonstratensians, who had to send their superiors to Chapters of head houses abroad. It appears from what has been said, that while the Priory of Bermondsey was well-ruled from a "spiritual" point of view, the temporal ruling and condition was, so far, very unsatisfactory. After a time this was changed, as will shortly appear.

The Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese Bermondsey was situated, in 1107 built a house on land belonging to and adjoining the priory, for a lodging when he came to the city. Stow says: "This is a very fair house, well repaired, and hath a large wharf and landing-place, called the Bishop of Winchester's Stairs." This remained the town residence of the Bishops of Winchester until the early part of the eighteenth century. A park of 70 acres was attached to it. The bishop claimed an annual procuration for one day from the priory, though as a Cluniac house it was exempt from episcopal authority. In 1276 this claim was compromised; the convent agreed for themselves and their successors, that on the first visit of the bishop to Bermondsey after his installation, they would meet him in procession, and pay him that year, at his house in Southwark, the sum of 5 marks, and each succeeding year $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks; and whenever he returned from beyond seas they would meet him in procession. The bishop, by his officers, controlled the district called Paris Garden, now the parish of Christ Church, and a very heavy task this was. He had a prison called the Clink, and granted licences for certain houses which were at that time considered necessary. The Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the Abbot of Battle, and other religious superiors had houses here, but the criminal and vicious classes were too confirmed in their evil ways to be much altered by good influence.

In addition to the various claims on the monastery

already mentioned, the king claimed and exercised the right to send worn-out soldiers and servants to be maintained in, or by the house, but this was not special to this particular monastery. Thus, in 1313, William de Topcliffe, who had long served Edward II., was sent by him to Bermondsey for maintenance in place of Thomas le Long, who had been previously so maintained; and after Topcliffe, Wm. Bale was sent in his place (*Close Rolls*). Towards the end of the thirteenth century, in 1279, the priory had a distinguished visitor, whose presence could not have been very welcome. At that time the struggle between the Primates of Canterbury and York, in reference to their relative position, was at its height. York claimed to be on equal terms with Canterbury, and to have the right to have the archiepiscopal cross, a crucifix, the emblem of his office, carried before him wherever he went, whether in his own province or that of Canterbury. Canterbury claimed superiority to York, and denied this right in the southern province. The result was open warfare and reciprocal excommunications.

The event referred to is thus recorded:—"Archbishop Romanus of York received the pall at Rome on February 10, 1286. On March 26, the Commissary of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered the rural dean of Dover to prevent Romanus carrying his cross erect in his deanery. In April Peckham himself wrote from Saltwood to the Dean of Arches to say that he had heard that Romanus was to land on Palm Sunday following, with his cross erect, and ordering him to prevent this. An order was also sent to the Dean of Dover forbidding any clerks to approach the intruder, and commanding the services to be stopped in every parish where he halted if he used the obnoxious emblem of his authority. The king had already heard of this, and ordered that provisions and other necessaries were to be supplied to Romanus and his suite *en route;* this was necessary, as they had been denied to previous archbishops of York passing that way. On April 11

Peckham again wrote to say that Romanus, as he heard, was in the Priory of Bermondsey with his cross erect, and he forbade every one to go near either the place or the prelate. The next day, April 12, Romanus received the temporalities of York, and no more trouble is recorded; probably the king interfered to stop it (*York and Canterbury Journ., Yorks. Archæol. Soc.*, 1894). Romanus appears to have actually been at the priory as stated, for the same month he granted an indulgence of forty days for the fabric of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, to all visiting it" (*Fasti Ebor. Raine*, i. p. 335).

With the accession of Edward III. the priory was still in debt and was taken into his hands. But Bermondsey was not the only house which was in difficulties; the conditions of the Cluniac Order, as already spoken of, had not proved a success; the houses in England generally were in a bad state. In 1331 they presented a joint petition to Parliament on the subject. Bermondsey was instanced as a priory that ought to have had over thirty monks, and it had only a third of that number. They did not elect their priors. They were kept many years without taking the vows of the Order; there were not twenty "professed" in the whole province. The French monks, however few, were always masters. They asked that the Prior of Lewes might take "professions." King Edward and his father had frequently endeavoured to assist the house in the management of its affairs; he now gave them more substantial assistance. He had taken the house as "alien" into his hands, and appropriated the money they usually sent to Cluni. He now handed over the custody of the house to the prior himself, for him to receive the income. For this they had to pay the king £100 a year. In 1338 the prior was unable to pay this money through a sudden loss through no fault of his own, and the king granted him respite for a time. This yearly payment to the king freed the house from military contributions from lands in the county (*Close Rolls*).

A great event took place in the priory this same year;

the large conventual Church of St. Saviour, and the high altar in honour of St. Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints, were dedicated by the Bishop of Corbavia, in Dalmatia (Peter, a friar minor), on January 11, 1338–9. Three other altars also were dedicated on the same day, viz. the altar of St. Cross; the altar called "Druet," in honour of Blessed Mary, and St. Thomas of Canterbury; and also the altar near the gate of the cemetery of the monks, to SS. Andrew, James, and all the Apostles.

Trouble from debt continued in consequence of the great expense in keeping up the embankment of the Thames (*Close Rolls*, 1340).

The Priors of Bermondsey, until the year 1372, were all of them foreigners, but in that year Richard Dunton, an Englishman, was appointed. An immense alteration in the prosperity of the house immediately followed. In the house itself he rebuilt the cloister and refectory *de novo;* in 1387 he covered the roof of the nave of the church with lead; and caused to be made new glass windows for the presbytery of the church, and gilt reredoses — tabulæ — to be made for the high and morning altars. In 1390 the exchange of the church of Croydon by the archbishop for the manor of Woddon was effected. He succeeded in getting the priory recognised as "denizen" instead of alien. For this the convent paid the sum of 200 marks. This put an end to its being taken into the king's hands, on declaration of war with France, and prosperity followed. Dunton resigned in 1390, and was succeeded by John Attelburgh, who was an ambitious and grasping man. During his time, in 1399, the priory was raised into an abbey by Pope Boniface IX., by the assent and request of Richard II. In 1397 Attelburgh obtained a dispensation to hold a living with cure of souls, as well as the priory, in consideration of money he had spent in putting down heresy. He acted as President-General of the Order in England. In 1399 he resigned the abbacy to become Bishop of Athelfold, when

the convent granted him forty marks (£26, 13s. 4d.) a year pension for food and clothing; this was afterwards stopped, and the matter was taken to Rome. On the election of his successor, the second abbot, the abbey was found in so unsatisfactory a state in consequence of Attelburgh's mismanagement, that the king took it into his own hands, and a custodian was appointed. The Archbishop of Canterbury took the matter up, and appointed a commission of inquiry. This led to Attelburgh's arrest for misappropriation. It also stated that he proposed to go to foreign parts with a view to injuring the king, his crown, and the abbey. His conduct while acting as President-General in England, for the Abbot of Cluni, led Pope Boniface IX. to write to the Bishop of Lichfield to inquire into a complaint by the Prior of Northampton, charging him and the prior of the smaller house of St. James', Derby, a subordinate cell of Bermondsey, with making a visitation under pretence that they had been made sub-delegates by the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Cal. Papal Letters*, iv. 454–55).

The raising of the Priory of Bermondsey to the abbatial rank caused an entire change in its position and management. Though rendering allegiance to Cluni and La Charité in spiritual matters, and liable to visitation by their deputies, it was a self-governed house, and managed its own "affairs." When a vacancy occurred in the abbacy, the appointment was no longer made by the Abbot of Cluni or La Charité. An election was made by the monks themselves. The form of procedure was as follows:—Notification of vacancy to the king; licence from him to elect; election by the monks; royal assent to election; notification to the Archbishop of Canterbury; confirmation by Commissioners of the Prior of La Charité; fealty taken; and mandate from king to the escheators of the counties where the temporalities were situated to restore them to the new abbot. The visitation of the house by the deputy of Cluni was sanctioned in 1432 by the king on the advice of the Council, as an abbey and not as a priory, the visitation being made by the Prior of

Lewes. But this does not appear to have been palatable to either the king or the abbey, for afterwards when the abbot was again cited by the Prior of Lewes for a visitation, he refused and the king supported him, and prohibited any further visitation.

The abbot had the right to use the mitre, not only in the abbey itself, but even on public occasions, and in the king's presence. This is evident, for at the coronation of Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII., sixteen "mitred abbots" were present. The abbot of Barmesey was mitred, though he was not a "lord of Parliament" (*Harl. MS. quoted in Leland's Collection*, iv. p. 229). The abbots had to take their share of public duties, and among other things they were appointed on the commissions *de Walliis et Fossatis* to see that those responsible for the banks of the Thames from West Greenwich to Gravesend properly kept them in order. In 1475 the abbey was relieved of the burden of providing for worn-out servants of the king and old soldiers, in return for relinquishing a rent of eighteen shillings per annum in the "Steelyard" of London. The king was interested in this, for the "Steelyard" was the business centre of the Hanseatic merchants, who lent him money. The Steelyard was situated in Upper Thames Street. But the abbey, on the election of each new abbot, had to provide a pension for one of the king's chaplains, nominated by him.

In 1430 the cloister was covered *de novo* with stone called "slat."

Katharine of France, widow of Henry V., resided at the abbey for a time, and died there. It was probably in the buildings which had been a royal palace, and which were given to the priory to enlarge it by Henry I., who reserved part of it as a residence for himself. It was in reality an appendage to the monastery. In *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary*, 1845, it is stated that vestiges of this palace could then be traced. In the *Antiquities of London, chiefly from the writings of Thos. Pennant*,

1814, it is said that, adjoining the gate of the abbey, then standing, "is part of a very old building; and on passing beneath the arch and turning to the left, is to be seen within a court, a house of very great antiquity, called (for what reason I know not) King John's Court." Towards the end of the summer of 1436, Katharine went to reside at the abbey, and remained there very ill during the autumn. On New Year's Day following she received a token of remembrance from her son, King Henry, consisting of a tablet of gold weighing thirteen ounces, on which was a crucifix set with pearls and sapphires; it was bought of John Pattesby. She was then dying, as she herself said in her will; "the silent and fearful conclusion" of her long and grievous malady took place on the 3rd of January. Proved December 15, 1473.

Margaret de la Pole in her will expressed a wish to be buried in the monastery of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, in the chapel called "the Virgin's Chapel," on the left hand side of the altar (*Test. Vetus*). Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV., was detained there by her son-in-law, Henry VII., and having been deprived of all her property by order of Parliament, she was unable when she made her will there, to leave anything even as a small token of remembrance to her relatives, which she much lamented. John, the Abbot of Bermondsey, was one of the witnesses to her will (*Test. Vetus*). In 1498, Anne, Lady Audeley, was buried here. Her husband, John, Lord Audeley, was buried at Shere, where a brass remains to his memory. Their son was beheaded and attainted. Here also the Countess of Salisbury, who was beheaded by Henry VIII., and who "would not die as a proud dame ought decorously," was detained here.

Henry VII. appointed in his will an anniversary for himself and his relatives, to be kept in this abbey, as follows :—The Abbot and Convent of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, shall provide at every such anniversary a hearse to be set up in the midst of the high choir of the same monastery,

before the High Altar, covered and apparelled with the best and most honourable stuff "convenient" for the same monastery; and also four tapers of wax, each weighing eight pounds, to be set about the hearse, on either side one taper, and at each end one; all of them to be lighted, and burning continually during the time of every such *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, with nine lessons, *Lauds*, and *Mass of Requiem*. The sum of £3, 6s. 8d. was to be paid yearly for this.

In 1514 Thos. Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln, and John, Abbot of St. Edmunds, had the next presentation of an abbot to Bermondsey; so a serious interference with the rights of the abbey had then taken place (*Rymer*).

The house was surrendered, June 1, 28 Henry VIII., by the abbot, Robert de Wharton. It was valued at £474. The abbot received a pension of £333, 6s. 8d., which was large in proportion to the value of the abbey, compared with the pensions of other abbots. He received also the bishopric of St. Asaph, which he held in *commendum*. By his extravagance he reduced the bishopric to extreme poverty. Richard Gale, the prior, received £10. Thomas Gaynsborow, prior of the cell of St. James, Derby, £7; the sub-prior and three others, £6. Four other monks each received £5, 6s. 8d., and two received smaller sums.

The plate seized amounted to:—Gold and gilt, 176 oz.; parcel gilt, 336 oz.; white, 164 oz.; total, 676 oz. (*Monastic Treasures, Abbotsford Club*).

The buildings of the abbey have been practically wiped out of existence. The church was pulled down by Sir Thomas Pope, to whom it was granted, and a house was built with the materials.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1808 gives an interesting and detailed account of surveys he had made of the old remains in 1779, and again in 1783. At that time two gateways were standing and long lines of walls, and the general plan showed an extent of about 630 feet east and west, and 225 feet north and south; but almost the

whole of this had been destroyed when he wrote. In 1810 some trenching was done, when many fragments of Norman mouldings and some stone coffins were found. The former are figured in the same magazine for December 1810. In Grange Walk a portion of one of the gatehouses still remains, with the hinge-pins of the gate *in situ*. A few years ago many pieces of mouldings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of Caen stone were found when the London County Council were laying out the approaches to the Tower Bridge. The best of these stones and a few other relics were placed in Horniman's Museum, Forest Hill. Considerable remains of molten glass were found in such a situation as proved that at one time glass was made within the monastery precincts, doubtless for their own church or other windows.

A cross, or crucifix, which was found near the Thames in 1117, was an object of veneration. It is recorded that William, Earl of Morton, was miraculously liberated from the Tower of London through the power of the Holy Cross of Bermondsey. How this happened is not stated. He appears to have been greatly impressed by this event, for in 1140 he went to the priory and received the monk's habit. In 1286, Romanus, Archbishop of York, granted an indulgence of forty days to those visiting the priory to adore the Holy Cross and contributing to the fabric. In 1538 the Rood of Bermondsey was taken down by the king's command.

REMAINS OF BERMONDSEY ABBEY.
(1804.)

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THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF SURREY: THE ABBEYS OF CHERTSEY AND WAVERLEY

By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

IT has been suggested that any volume dealing with the leading features of Surrey of the olden days would be incomplete without some general account, however brief, of the leading features of the monastic system as exemplified within the county bounds up to the days when it was ruthlessly uprooted in the vain attempt to satisfy the consummate greed of Henry VIII. and his sharers in the rich spoils.[1]

Students of monastic distribution know well that Surrey, even in proportion to its area, was never rich in religious houses. For this there was doubtless some cause in the considerable proportion of very sparsely populated areas in the weald of the south, the heaths of the north-west, and the downs of the centre, at the very time when monastic establishments were being chiefly founded. It should, however, always be remembered that there was no recognition of the limits of secular jurisdiction in such foundations, and that the amount of monastic property in any given county cannot in the least be determined by the number of such houses within its bounds. A great number of monasteries, more or less remote from the county, held estates of varying size within Surrey. In a few cases

[1] This subject has been treated of in some detail, with full references to authorities, both in MS. and print, by the present writer in the *Victoria County History of Surrey*, ii. pp. 54–130.

there were definite granges on such properties, occupied by two or more religious, observing their rule, and serving a chapel open to their attendants, farm servants, and immediate tenantry. But in all cases where there were monastic lands, whether there were resident monks or canons, or whether the property was in the hands of a bailiff, the condition of things would be materially improved in comparison with that of lands under ordinary tenure. It may be taken as a proved fact, that the best farming, and the greatest degree of fair dealing and generous treatment, were to be found throughout mediæval England on the property of the religious houses. As I have remarked elsewhere, however unworthy the superior or leading officials of an abbey or priory may occasionally have been, the system at all events secured a succession of resident lords, for the most part of high moral and religious character, or of diligently supervised granges, where the estates were at some distance from the central house. There were no protracted wardships or minorities. The lords were not frequently absent at wars, or with the Court; and the actual character of the administration could not possibly have fluctuated in a like way as on secular estates. The heads of religious houses and their chief officials had almost invariably first hand experience of manual labour, as well as of agricultural farming; hence they could sympathise with the toil of the one and the anxiety of the other.[1]

So far as Surrey was concerned, the Black Monks, or Benedictines, held the mitred abbey of Chertsey of ancient foundation. The oldest, but by no means the wealthiest of the English Cistercian abbeys, was at Waverley. Of the other reformed Benedictine order of the Cluniacs, Bermondsey, treated so fully elsewhere in this volume by Dr. Fairbank, was one of the most noteworthy houses. A priory was founded at Sheen (Richmond) for the austere order of Carthusian monks by Henry V. in 1414.

[1] See the chapter on "Monastic Tenants" in the small book on *English Monasteries* (1904) by the present writer.

The Black Canons of the Austin order had celebrated establishments both at Merton and Southwark, and they had also smaller houses at Reigate, Tandridge, and Newark.

The mendicant orders were not largely represented; the Dominicans had a considerable house at Guildford, and the Observant Friars, a reformed branch of the Franciscans, were established by Henry VII. at Richmond.

As to Hospitals, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from small priories of Austin canons, the Surrey examples are fairly numerous. There were early leper hospitals at Kingston-on-Thames and Southwark, both dedicated to St. Leonard. At Guildford there was a hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr as early as 1231, and one at Sandon by Cobham, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, of twelfth century origin. The great Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Southwark, was founded some time before 1215. The priories of both Reigate and Tandridge were originally founded as hospitals.

In considering the religious houses which were suppressed under Henry VIII. or Edward VI., Collegiate Churches, served by a number of priests or chaplains, living to some extent a common life, and following defined rules, have to be included. Surrey supplies but few instances. Lingfield was, however, a genuine collegiate establishment; it was intended not only to supply worship of special dignity, and to serve as a chantry on a large scale, but it also included an eleemosynary foundation, supporting thirteen poor men who resided in the college with the chaplains and clerks. At Kingston a small collegiate establishment, consisting of two chaplains, one of whom was the warden, was established in connection with the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in the fourteenth century. The twelfth century foundation at Malden, by the great Walter de Merton, was speedily transferred to Merton College, Oxford. Archbishop Baldwin, in 1188, began to build a fine chapel at Lambeth, intending to make

it collegiate, with houses for the canons in an adjoining quadrangle. His successor, Hubert Walter, completed the chapel and buildings. But owing to the jealousy of the monks at Canterbury this foundation was speedily suppressed.

It now remains to offer a few remarks on the actual monastic foundations of the two other abbeys of Surrey, apart from that of Bermondsey.

The Benedictine abbey of St. Peter of Chertsey was founded in 666 by Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London, who became its first abbot. It was endowed with lands through the munificence of Frithwald, Subregulus (or Vice-Regent) of Surrey under Ulfar, King of the Mercians. A special charter of privileges, granted by Pope Agathon (678–82), was brought personally from Rome by Abbot Erkenwald. From the year 850 and onwards through the ninth century, this monastery actively shared in the perils of the country, owing to the incursions of the piratical pagan Danes. The ancient register of the abbey, preserved at the British Museum, forms a valuable chronicle of this distressful period; it tells graphically the story of the struggle against these murderous heathens, describes the dangers to which the coasts and waterways were exposed, particularly in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and culminates in the account of the attack of Chertsey itself, the slaughter of Abbot Beocca with ninety monks, the burning of their homes, and the wasting of their lands. Many years went by before any work of restoration was begun. But about 950, Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, sent to the abbey of Abingdon, requesting that thirteen monks be sent to colonise a new house at Chertsey on the old site. Edward the Confessor took this house under his special patronage, and conferred on it the towns of Egham, Thorpe, and Chobham, with a variety of special privileges. William the Conqueror eventually gave the monks his favour and protection; he conferred on them the rights of warren, together with leave to keep dogs and take hares and foxes

throughout all their lands in Surrey. The income of the abbey was materially increased during the reigns of the three first Edwards by the appropriation of the greater or rectorial tithes of many of the parish churches which were within their gift. The Bishop of Winchester in 1292 permitted the abbot and convent to retain to their own uses the church of Bookham, which was of their patronage, provided they presented a suitable person as vicar, with a sufficient income, to perform divine service there. It was stated as a reason for this concession, that the funds of the monastery had lately decreased, by exactions, by pestilences, and by the inundations of water that affected animals, flocks, and other property of Chertsey. Among the churches thus appropriated in Surrey in addition to Bookham, were those of Cobham, Coulsdon, Epsom, Ewell, Horley, and Waltham.

The head of a large and influential house, such as that of Chertsey, filled an important position in the county, and not infrequently enjoyed the personal favour of the king. Abbot Hugh was sent on an embassy to the Pope by Henry I., and Abbot Adam on a like errand by Richard I. Abbot Alan was one of the signatories to the re-issue of Magna Charta in 1225. Abbot Bartholomew received a mandate from Edward I. in 1273 to attend at Kingston at a special time to see to the observance of the king's prohibition of a tournament; if not able to go personally, he was to send the sub-prior and cellarer, or two discreet monks. There was a remarkable increase in the estates of the abbey, and much improvement in their property and buildings between 1307 and 1346, which was due to the energy and ability of Abbot John de Rutherwyk, described in the chartulary as *religiosissimus pater, prudentissimus et utilissimus dominus*. Original tablets recording the rebuilding of the chancels of Great Bookham and Egham are still extant on the walls of these churches.

During the abbacy of John de Rutherwyk, a dispensation was applied for on behalf of John de Winton, priest, a

monk of Chertsey, for wounding a thief. The petition recounts that a thief at night-time broke into the infirmary where the monk was lying ill in bed. A struggle took place between the robber and some servants who were roused, in which the thief received deadly wounds on the head, but by whom the blows were struck was uncertain in the confusion. The monk, suddenly aroused from sleep by the noise of this conflict, and hardly conscious of what he was doing, leapt from his bed, and seizing a sword from one of them, struck the thief on the ear and jaw; but in the opinion of the medical men and others this particular wound was not a deadly one. The abbot suspended the monk from celebrating mass, and sought counsel of the bishop, who, inasmuch as John de Winton had not mutilated any member of the thief, nor, in the judgment of the medical men, been the cause of his death, decided that he need no longer abstain from celebrating mass.

There appears to have been much slackness of administration about the middle of the fifteenth century. Thomas Angewin, who had been elected abbot in 1458, was compelled to resign by the Bishop of Winchester after a commission of inquiry in 1461, when the bishop selected William Wroughton, a monk of Winchester, as his successor. Wroughton was, however, himself deposed in 1464, and license was obtained from Edward IV. for the convent to elect a successor. Whereupon the monks re-elected the deposed Angewin, but the bishop annulled the election on the score of informality, and collated John May to the vacancy. It was during the rule of Abbot May that this house was called upon to supply a resting-place for the remains of Henry VI. The body of that unfortunate king, "found dead" in the Tower, was shown for some days in St. Paul's, in order to disarm suspicion; afterwards it was taken up the Thames on a barge to the abbey of Chertsey, to be there buried, whence it was eventually removed to Windsor by Henry VIII.

When the abbey was visited on 28th April 1501 by Thomas Hede, commissary of the prior of Canterbury, during

the voidance of the sees of Canterbury and Winchester, the number of the inmates had fallen. The abbot, Thomas Pigot, who had been consecrated Bishop of Bangor, 1500, but was allowed to retain the abbey *in commendam*, testified to the due performance of all their religious duties, both in the day and night offices; that there was not the full statutory number of monks; that their seal was kept in the treasury under four keys in the respective custody of the abbot, prior, sub-prior, and one of the senior monks; and that the monastery was not in debt, nor had it any valuables pledged. There was some discrepancy in the statements of the other officers as to the indebtedness of the house, but the sole actual complaint was that the constitutions of the Order of St. Benedict were not read in chapter. Otherwise monk after monk briefly deposed *omne bene*.

The *Valor* of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the abbey as £659, 16s. 8¾d.

Dr. Legh, one of the most evil and notorious of Thomas Cromwell's agents, was the visitor of this abbey in 1535, when John Cordrey was abbot. Under the head of *Superstitio*, he reports that among the abbey relics was the arm-bone of St. Blasius, through which they gave wine in cases of illness; there was also an image of St. Faith, before which, as he alleged, they placed a candle on behalf of sick persons, and maintained that if the candle remained lighted until it was consumed, the sick person would recover, but if it went out he would die. He also forwarded his *comperta*, wherein he stated that seven of the monks were incontinent, four guilty of unnatural offences, and two apostates. To enter here fully into odious charges of this description, launched against many houses by this man and his infamous colleague Leyton, is impossible. Suffice it to say, that their statements, as a rule, are regarded with incredulity by all decent scholars who have investigated the matter, and more especially by Dr. Gairdner, the official historian of the reign of Henry VIII. In a great number of counties these slanderous

reports by men, whose one object was to please Cromwell, are confuted in detail by the returns of the mixed commissions, consisting of certain Crown officials, allied with county gentlemen of trustworthy character. In this case Legh's report is traversed by that of the Bishop of Winchester and Sir W. Fitzwilliam, the latter the treasurer of the king's household. So far, too, as Chertsey is concerned, the absolute falsity of Legh's inventions are surely manifested by the sequel. Cordrey and his monks signed the deed of surrender on 6th July 1537, but on 5th July the king had granted a charter for the re-foundation of Bisham Priory, Berkshire, as a Benedictine mitred abbey, with Cordrey and his monks as the first members of the new monastery, who were to be under special royal patronage. If Henry VIII. had put a shadow of faith in the wholesale allegations of dissoluteness made by Legh, he would not have dared to act after this fashion.

The site and remaining buildings of this once great abbey, covering about four acres, were granted by James I. to his physician, Dr. Hammond. The next owner, Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, built himself a fair house out of the ruins. In 1850 and 1853, and again in 1861, considerable excavations were made on the site. These operations uncovered the foundations of the great church and the chapter-house. The former was shown to have an extreme length of 257 ft. within the walls, and a width, inclusive of the transepts, of 112 ft. A portion of the floor of the south quire aisle, with its apsidal termination, together with portions of the chapter-house, remain exposed to view within private grounds. Various substantial fragments of the precinct walls and of outbuildings can still be traced.

The other great abbey of Surrey—for Bermondsey was known as a priory throughout most of its existence—is that of Waverley, of much historic interest, and most justly celebrated for the beauty of its situation and for the extent of its monastic remains. Moreover, a peculiar importance

attaches itself to the Abbey of the Blessed Mary of Waverley, inasmuch as it was the first house of the great congregation of Citeaux, that flourishing branch of the Benedictines described by William of Malmesbury, as "the surest road to Heaven." The monastery of Citeaux was founded by St. Robert of Molesme in 1092, but the organising of the peculiar system of the Cistercians, under the perpetual supremacy of the abbot and house of Citeaux, was the work of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, who had crossed the seas at an early age. This strict order of White Monks increased with such rapidity that there were 500 houses by the middle of the twelfth century throughout Christendom, and upwards of 1500 fifty years later. In England there were 100 Cistercian abbeys at the time of their suppression, and three-fourths of these had been established in the twelfth century.

The first abbey of this order on English soil was founded at Waverley on 24th November 1128 by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, who brought over from the Abbey of Aumone, Normandy, twelve monks and an abbot, numbers typical of our Lord and His disciples, to form the new colony. Notwithstanding its great repute, Waverley was but slenderly endowed. According to the Taxation Roll of 1291, the annual value of the temporalities of the house only amounted to £98, 1s. 8d.; and the clear income at the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 was £174, 8s. 3½d. Perhaps it was in some degree owing to the modesty of their rent-roll that Waverley succeeded in not only establishing and maintaining for upwards of four centuries an almost unblemished record in carrying out the good works for which it was founded, but in maintaining a brave front and careful administration amid a succession of peculiar trials. In common with the two other Surrey abbeys of Chertsey and Bermondsey, which were far wealthier foundations, this simple-lived Cistercian house suffered much from devastating floods, bad seasons, loss of crops, and manifold exactions; but these very

embarassments which form so large a proportion of the history of the first two abbeys, and brought them near to ruin, proved but temporary checks in the annals of Waverley.

It is no small tribute to the rule and discipline so consistently maintained at Waverley, that from its foundation up to 1291, when the special annals of the house cease, no fewer than seven of the monks were selected to be abbots, in addition to several who were chosen as heads of other foundations. The vitality of this, the oldest of England's Cistercian abbeys, is shown by its numerous healthy offshoots. The abbeys colonised immediately from Waverley included Garendon in Leicestershire, Ford in Devonshire, Combe in Warwickshire, and Thame in Oxfordshire, whilst her grandchildren numbered seven other English abbeys. Waverley claimed and sustained its claim to take the leading position among the Cistercian houses. Her claim was at one time disputed by Furness in Lancashire, whose income was nearly five times as great as that of Waverley; but in 1232 it was enacted that the abbots of Waverley should have precedence everywhere, not only in the chapters of the abbots assembled in England, but throughout the entire order.

The opening years of the thirteenth century were a period of grievous trial. A violent storm in July 1201 not only damaged the corn crops, but flooded the conventual buildings, and nearly carried them away. The rainfall of this year was followed by a severe dearth, nevertheless the foundation of a new church was laid in March 1204; but later in the same year such a grievous famine and mortality set in that the brethren had for a time to be dispersed among other religious houses, owing to a lack of sustenance. King John spent the latter part of Holy Week, 1208, in this abbey, but he had apparently no notion of treating it as a penitential season, for on 6th April he gave directions for the dispatching to Waverley from Pagham of two tuns of wine "for our household." In 1210,

The Chapter House, Waverley Abbey.

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when the evil John was endeavouring to extort money by every means in his power, the Cistercians refused to contribute. His wrath fell specially on Waverley, and on one occasion the abbot fled away by night. However, after peace was made with the Pope, John selected the abbot of Waverley, in 1214, as one of a special mission to the continent. In July of that year the new church, in spite of all difficulties, was so far advanced that five altars were consecrated; but this great work was not fully accomplished until much later. On the feast of St. Matthew, 1278, the vast building was dedicated to the Glorious Virgin, the Mother of God, by Nicholas de Ely, Bishop of Winchester. Joy and feasting marked this great occasion, and the bishop undertook, at his own expense, to provide ample provision for all comers throughout the nine days' solemnities. Many bishops, abbots, and knights were present, and the annals state that 7066 actually sat down to meat on the first day. Various ladies were amongst the great throng, for the strict rule against the admission of women into any part of a Cistercian monastery was expressly held in abeyance during the church consecrating ceremonies.

Henry III. had visited the abbey on Palm Sunday, 1245, when Eleanor, his sister, wife of Simon de Montfort, was allowed to accompany him by special papal indulgence. In the autumn of 1252 another lady obtained papal sanction to enter Waverley Abbey; this was Isabel, Countess of Arundel, the wife of Hugh de Albini. She came to consult the abbot in reference to founding a Cistercian house at Marnham. The Countess entered the chapter-house, and was admitted an associate; she bestowed four marks and a cask of wine on the convent as a pittance.

Out of a great variety of thirteenth century incidents relative to this house, one that should find place in this brief sketch throws a little light on the domestic arrangements. In 1284, and again in the following year, safe conduct was granted, by the licence of Edward I., for lay brethren and men of the abbot of Waverley to proceed to

Great Yarmouth, with horses and carts, to buy herring and other fish.

The relations of the abbey with Edward II. and his successors maintained, as a rule, a uniformly smooth character. In 1312 the abbot received not only the crown licence to cross the seas for the purpose of attending the general chapter at Citeaux, but the sum of £20 was allotted to him for his expenses. There are many similar entries of subsequent dates on the Close or Patent Rolls. The abbot and convent received a guarantee from Edward III., in 1347, that the sum of £20 lent for the expenses of his French expedition should be repaid by Christmas 1348; a similar promise was made by Richard II. in March 1378–79 as to £20 lent to him in like manner. There was an interesting but friendly controversy with Edward III. as to the king's right to impose a certain number of aged life-boarders from among the royal servants on the monastery, which was customary with houses of royal foundation. Edward claimed that Waverley was "almost of the foundation of his progenitors." The abbey had on several occasions yielded to the royal requests of this character as a matter of favour, but at last, in 1340, it was successfully established in the law courts that no obligation rested on Waverley in this matter, as the undoubted founder was William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester.

If space permitted it could also be shown that the relationships between Waverley and the Bishops of Winchester were always of a friendly and pleasant character, although the diocesan had no right to enter as a visitor, for Cistercian houses only admitted visitors of their own order.

When the evil days came for the wholesale sweeping of monastic property into the coffers of the royal spendthrift and his backers, it is needless to state that Cromwell turned a deaf ear to the piteous and simple letter addressed to him on 9th June 1536 by Abbot William: "Beseeching your good mastership, for the love of Christ's passion, to

help to the preservation of this poor monastery, that we your beadsmen may remain in the service of God with the meanest living that any poor men may live with in this world, so to continue in the service of Almighty Jesus, and to pray for the estate of your friend and your mastership."

The smallness of the income brought Waverley within the meshes of the Act for the suppression of the smaller houses, and within a few days of the abbot's pleading this abbey of unblemished repute was blotted out by the royal commissioners. The monks and lay brethren were cast out destitute, only the superiors of the smaller houses being entitled to any pension.

The fairness of the site attracted many covetous eyes among the supporters of the court. Eventually it passed into the hands of Sir William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of Henry VIII.'s household, subsequently created Earl of Southampton. Dying in 1543, the Earl left the site and adjacent estate to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Browne, who died in 1549, and left it to his son Anthony, created Viscount Montague in 1554. Between 1562 and 1568, Sir William More, when building his new house at Loseley, brought many waggon loads of material from the ruins of Waverley, by leave of his friend Lord Montague. Only a small portion of the old abbey appears to have been inhabited after the dissolution. The estate was sold to John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for £10,000, in 1720. Mr. Aislabie built a house on the rising ground at some little distance from the ruins, on the other side of a sheet of water. Bishop Pococke, writing in 1754, describes it as "a fine piece of architecture of Campbell's, on one of Palladio's designs." A subsequent owner, Sir Robert Rich, who died in 1756, added wings to the house with materials drawn from the abbey ruins. In 1832 the property was purchased by a Mr. Nicholson. Sir Walter Scott made the acquaintance of the Nicholsons, but not until after the publication of the immortal *Waverley* novel.

Sir Walter died within a few months after Mr. Nicholson had completed his purchase. As there is often misunderstanding on this point, it is well to state that the name of the novel was suggested by the chronicles known as the *Waverley Annals*, and not by the place itself.

This beautiful and well-planted estate was bought by Mr. T. D. Anderson in 1870. Under his son, Mr. Rupert Darnley Anderson, the present owner, the greatest possible care has been taken of the ruins; they have undergone a thorough scheme of excavation, which was brought to a conclusion in 1904. The remains now above ground are not considerable, but picturesque and full of interest to monastic students; when complete they must have covered about eight acres. A full architectural account by Mr. C. R. Peers, with a most admirable ground plan, coloured in the different shades to mark the successive periods, contributed by Mr. Harold Brakespear, appears in vol. ii. of the *Victoria County History of Surrey*.

The original cloister was quite small, being only 95 ft. square, but this was extended, after 1231, to a square of 124 feet. Of the great church, completed in 1278, which was 322 ft. in length, the transept in part remains. To the east is the common-house, 60 ft. by 27 ft., and westward the undercroft of the guest-house, 54 ft. by 26 ft. There are also other thirteenth century buildings abutting on the Wey.

THE POST-REFORMATION FOUNDATIONS IN SURREY

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IN the generation which passed between the beginning of the Divorce storm under Henry, to Elizabeth's accession, during the Reformation changes, the ancient religious and charitable foundations of the country for the most part perished. They were generally ill-administered, declining in wealth and numbers, out-of-date, yet worth confiscating, and not inclined to meet reform half-way. No wonder that impatient and greedy reformers swept them away entirely. The result was the greatest social change ever made in England in so short a time. The abolition of monasteries, chantries, guilds, and hospitals was tantamount to the sweeping away of inefficient, but the only existing provision for poor relief on a large scale, the destruction of many almshouses, hospitals, and schools, the suppression of many church services. It also changed the ownership of a great deal of land, which was transferred from unprogressive corporations to new owners, who were anxious to make hay while the sun of reformation shone. Simultaneously changes in the treatment of land, in the directions of commerce, in the conditions of industry, and in the value of money, were causing a great deal of temporary distress.

The county of Surrey was on the whole less affected than some other parts of England, which were socially nearer the mediæval conditions when the abolished foundations were made, and where consequently they continued to be more useful. For instance, in the only parts of Surrey

where travellers abounded, there were plenty of inns, as in Farnham, Guildford, Dorking, Reigate, and Southwark, without need of the hospitality of religious houses. The monasteries may have helped some sick folk, but the hospital of St. Thomas was grossly mismanaged; the hospital at Sandon had come to an end a century before; that at Guildford, which was not abolished, was insignificant. Chertsey, Merton, and Sheen were fairly flourishing houses, but Waverley had quite decayed, and Reigate, Tandridge, and Lingfield were very small. There is no evidence that any monastery in Surrey was actually keeping a school at the dissolution, though there is a possibility that they did, and there is strong reason for believing that some of the suppressed chantries included schools. Certainly none of the religious houses was the centre of a great industry, as Waverley had been in its prime, when the Cistercians were wool merchants. The suppressions in Surrey changed the ownership of a great deal of land; probably extinguished some small schools; abolished what hospitals there were, though these were bad; destroyed probably five fine churches at Waverley, Chertsey, Merton, Bermondsey, and Sheen, and some smaller ones; destroyed or impaired the efficiency of the working of a few parishes, and put an end to the services, and to the fabrics at last, of some half-a-dozen chapels. Also, of course, it threw some clergy upon the world, with or without small pensions, and threw some laymen out of work. Naturally it put an end to a great many church services. Here was no speedy restoration. New churches, except for a few rebuildings, did not appear till the eighteenth century was advanced.

The mediæval provision for the social needs of the country was in fact out of date in the south of England, and the effort to replace it was not made so much on account of the suppression of a working machinery for poor relief and school education, as because the suppression, ruthlessly and corruptly carried out with little pretence of reform, left those who would have gladly reformed

nothing to build upon, and called for an entirely new establishment. How the State tried to mend the gap by poor laws; and how the foundation of colleges in the universities had, since the middle of the fourteenth century, tried to supply the place in higher education vacated by the monasteries, belongs to another story. Here in our county some men tried to provide for the needs which reformed religious houses might have met. So it came about that before the destructive generation had passed a constructive era set in.

Under Edward VI., the king, or those acting for him, took possession of ancient endowments, kept two-thirds, and out of the remainder made a new foundation which was called by the name of the king. Under Mary there was a little restoration and some new foundations. Under Elizabeth the Edwardian method of foundation was repeated, but the old endowments were less and less available for it. In the latter part of her reign, and under James, genuinely new foundations were made.

Archbishop Whitgift, the leading name in the foundations of Surrey, connects the old system with the new. Not only by his age could he remember days before the Dissolution, but there is some reason for thinking that he had been a sort of infant scholar in a monastery. His uncle, the Prior of the Austin Canons of Wellow in Lincolnshire, brought him up, perhaps in his own house. Whitgift, the Calvinist, was not likely to revive a monastery. But there were still worthy old people unable to grapple with the world, and there were young people who needed teaching. He had under his eyes in Croydon Davey's Almshouses, which since 1447 sheltered a tutor and six brethren and six sisters, who attended services in their chapel, and though living a common life, under rules, were not clergy, and also by their insignificance perhaps had escaped destruction. So the Archbishop founded his College of the Holy Trinity at Croydon as something like this on a larger scale. License to alienate land in mortmain for the foundation

was obtained in 1596, and the building was finished in 1599. It was distinctly a religious house. The Brethren, the incorporated College, were to attend service, and were bound by rules of conduct; they were not debarred from outside occupation, but they were not supposed to get their living outside and to use the hospital merely as a lodging. They were sharers in a common life, and by pride in their own college, and a sense that their being where they were was a testimonial to their godliness and honesty, they were lifted above the level of mere recipients of indoor relief or outdoor pensions. No school is named in the deed of foundation, but it is provided for in Whitgift's statutes. Long before, in 1393, there is evidence of a grammar school in Croydon. It had perhaps become connected with the later founded chantry of St. Nicholas in the parish church, suppressed in 1548. If so, Whitgift's school is another instance of repairing damage. The school has suffered many vicissitudes. The grammar school came to an end, and the national school was carried on in the building. A scheme of 1856 tried to convert it into a commercial academy, for which its founder had not intended it. In 1881 the able persistence of a strong headmaster brought about its restoration to the rank which the archbishop intended it to hold.

The College has been in more serious peril still. The beautiful Elizabethan buildings have been threatened with destruction because the people of Croydon allowed the introduction of tramways into a street not adapted for them, and shrank from pulling down a new public-house on the opposite side of the way. The disgrace to Croydon now seems averted, and Trinity College, Croydon, remains in fabric as in idea a dignified survival amid the commonplaces of suburban life.

If Whitgift's Hospital had a sort of monastic ancestry, Abbot's Hospital, Guildford, was certainly suggested by Whitgift's. Archbishop Abbot was a Guildford man, the son of a well-to-do tradesman rather than of the poor

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weaver whom the story calls his father. His native town was declining in prosperity in his time, owing to the general decline of the wool and cloth trade in West Surrey, and to the particular restrictive ordinances of the Guildford corporation. No mediæval foundation suppressed in Guildford would have supplied the place of what Abbot intended. The Dominican Friars might have relieved the casual poor, but would not have taken in decayed tradesmen, as this hospital does, nor have provided a "development fund" for the declining cloth industry, as Abbot devised. This naturally failed to be of use, though three centuries back there was more excuse for believing in such devices than there is now. No school was planned by Abbot. A good school existed already. But a school was ultimately established in place of the "development fund." Abbot's statutes were otherwise closely modelled upon those of Whitgift, avowedly so. But the foundation was not in place of ruined religious houses, rather an attempt to alleviate some of the hardships attending the industrial changes of the Reformation period. The first stone of the building was laid in 1619, the hospital was incorporated in 1622, and the statutes finally approved in 1629. The building has remained fortunately intact. The fine gate tower and the red brick quadrangle remind us forcibly of some of the smaller Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, though not more than one or two can beat it in quiet and dignified beauty. At the back is a large garden, where the inmates raise their own vegetables. Even the interior fittings largely remain. The heavy tables and forms, the doors and panelling, and the mantelpieces carved in oak, are a wonderful testimony to the number and excellence of the unnamed wood-carvers of those days. The pulpit and screen of the neighbouring church of Compton are a contemporary monument of the same art, perhaps of the same men. In the chapel there may be a direct connexion with a monastic house. The windows are an obvious afterthought, too big for the chapel, and the east window cuts through the string-course outside.

Ducarel says that the glass was brought from the Dominican church in Guildford. It is very possibly true. The windows are clearly enlarged for some reason. The glass is also of two dates—part of Abbot's own time with his arms, and the royal arms of James' reign; part representing some of the story of Jacob and Esau, and apparently Flemish glass of about 1500 A.D. Shortly before this date the Dominican Friary had received benefactions which might enable it to buy expensive glass, and about the time of the building of this chapel their house was finally pulled down and a new house built on the site. The owner might just then have had old glass to sell. There is glass of Abbot's time in the hospital windows, with the punning motto, *Clamamus Abba Pater*. Visitors should if possible see the carving in the Master's House and in the Governors' Board Room. The rector of Trinity Church opposite may nominate himself as Master if unmarried or a widower, and the hospital is Trinity Hospital.

The third great foundation of this kind in Surrey was not founded by any one so dignified as an archbishop. Edward Allen, play-actor, theatre manager, "master of the king's game of bears and of mastive dogs and mastive bitches," was by position unique among pious founders.[1] He made and he married money—Joan Woodward, daughter of a Sussex ironmaster, and stepdaughter of Philip Henslowe, theatrical manager. It is related that he was converted to seriousness because when acting a demon the real thing appeared to him, and, as a Scot once put it, asked him "how he dared take his holy name in vain?" Be that as it may, without abandoning his bears and dogs, the Paris Garden Bear Pit, nor the Rose and Fortune theatres which he managed, he bought Dulwich Manor and Hall Place, Dulwich, and projected a college on rather fantastic lines, to be called The College of God's Gift of Dulwich. He was

[1] It is amusing to find the master of bears and mastiffs forbidding the inmates of his college to keep "dogs or poultry or other noisome animals," except a cat.

DULWICH COLLEGE
(*c.* 1775)

apparently moved by Sutton's foundation of the Charterhouse, which he followed in some respects. But he was less practical in his aims than Sutton. Indeed it is not clear that he knew exactly what he intended to establish. He aimed at so much that he might have accomplished nothing.

The whole scheme would have fallen through when he married his second wife, Constance, the daughter of Dr. Donne, and granddaughter of Sir George More of Loseley, a girl forty years his junior, if his and his first wife's money had not been already vested in trustees. There was to be a college with a master and a warden, both of his blood if possible—he had no children—four Fellows, the first two Masters of Arts in Orders, the third schoolmaster, the fourth usher, six poor brethren, six poor sisters, and twelve scholars. Some of the scholars were to be sent on to the universities. There were to be thirty out-pensioners, chosen from the parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; and St. Saviour's, Southwark, parishes where he had made money, and he projected almshouses also in these parishes. By an afterthought he added to his college six junior fellows or chaunters. These were to be tradesmen teaching the children manual crafts, and also skilled in music, and training them as musicians, especially in church music. Among other things Allen was himself a musician. His ultimate scheme was for a school of grammar, music, and handicrafts, attached to an almshouse. He got so far as buying three "viols" for £1, 15s. 6d. for the children, but this part of his plan was never operative. The original twelve free scholars were to come from the same parishes as the pensioners. Dulwich boys were to receive elementary teaching free. Sixty-eight "foreigners" might be admitted to the school by payment. He began at the wrong end, starting his building in 1613, dedicating the chapel in 1616, and only getting his patent for incorporation in 1619. Bacon had delayed its passing the Great Seal. The chancellor was annoyed because two lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge had failed to obtain

licence, and he mistrusted the actor and all his works. He said, "Hospitals abound and beggars never abound a whit the less;" which shows that in social and political science, about which he really knew a great deal more than he did about natural science, he was notably ahead of his own age and of most of ours.

Inigo Jones did not build for Allen, as is said sometimes. He was present at the dedication of the chapel. The chapel, with chaplain's residence and buildings of late Tudor style, surrounding three sides of a garden, still remain; the fourth side is enclosed by high railings with gates. Rooms for the in-pensioners are also provided in the old block. But Allen's original buildings are almost swamped by pretentious and unsuccessful modern erections (1870), said to be conceived in the "northern Italian style of the thirteenth century." Very little of Allen's original scheme remains. But under a final arrangement of 1881–83 a great school has arisen on his foundation, with a lower school and a girls' school besides. The college of music was stillborn, and the eleemosynary provisions are of comparatively small importance.

Of these three founders Whitgift was the best man of affairs. But all three intended to make their benefactions more or less circumscribed. Whitgift intended to benefit specially the servants and tenants of the metropolitan see; Abbot, the people of his native town; Allen, his kindred and the people of certain parishes. The monasteries, so far as they were centres of almsgiving, or schools, or hospitals, had necessarily served certain places chiefly; but as refuges from the shocks of the world they had served the world, not even England exclusively, though chiefly.

The attempt to combine a hospital and a school in post-Reformation foundations, is a result of the monastic precedent. But the monastery included able-bodied teachers, the hospital did not, and the two were better separated.

St. Thomas' Hospital affords us an example of a typical

Edwardian foundation. There had been a hospital served by brethren and sisters attached to St. Mary Overies. There had been another for the curiously combined objects of providing for converted Jews and foundling children, dependent upon Bermondsey Abbey. The two had been united in 1228 to form the hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury. There was a free school attached to it, one of the many instances when a school is revealed of the foundation of which we have no account. But this was not existing when the hospital was suppressed in 1540. The late warden, Richard Mabbot, had put down the school, and otherwise behaved scandalously. He had stolen the plate, excluded a poor woman who died in the street for want of assistance, and done everything which he ought not to have done. However, he died in possession in 1539. In 1540 his successor surrendered the house to Henry VIII. As it was, it was clearly little loss. But there were possibilities about it if it had been reformed. In 1552–53 the corporation of London bought it from King Edward and re-endowed it. It received a charter in 1553, and the king graciously allowed himself to be commemorated as the founder, provided it were dedicated henceforth to St. Thomas the Apostle, and not to Thomas the traitor. That the fiction of royal benevolence might be perpetuated the statue of King Edward VI. was set up, and still stands where the hospital used to be. The hospital was removed to its present site, opposite the Houses of Parliament, in the nineteenth century. Part of the original site is occupied as a clergy-house by the clergy of Southwark Cathedral. Down in the cellars some few traces of the mediæval building remain. It is over against Guy's. That munificent foundation lies outside our subject. It is a pity that the wealth of the pious founder grew largely from selling pirated Bibles printed cheaply in Holland. At St. Thomas' the public spirit of the corporation founded a useful hospital where none of any use had been before. But if the original had been reformed the corporation could have founded another with the money which

the peculiar views of Edward's council upon the *rôle* of founders forced them to supply.

What a mediæval hospital, unsuppressed and unreformed, might become, is illustrated by another, St. Thomas' Spital, in Guildford. It is now extinct, but in the eighteenth century it sheltered one decrepit pauper, who was dignified by the name of the master.

The almshouse, not incorporated like the more ambitious foundations, but merely a shelter with allowances of food, fire, and clothing, for disabled men and women, had been a common mediæval foundation. But in many instances the management had been under a guild, or the occupancy was connected with a religious service, which brought them under the acts for suppressing guilds and chantries. Some, like Davey's in Croydon, mentioned above, survived. Wyatt's Almshouses, founded by Richard Wyatt of Shackleford by his will of 1618, are an example of the new movement. They are intended for the disabled poor of certain neighbouring parishes where Wyatt had bought property, and are under the management of the Carpenters' Company, of which he was a member. No doubt a century earlier the representatives of the class in them would sometimes have wandered to Waverley and begged the charity of the Cistercians. More likely they would have hung round the hall doors of the smaller manor houses, if driven to beg at all. The almshouses are a picturesque object on the left hand side to one going from Farncombe to Godalming. In the centre is a chapel; the religious element, involving regular worship, was still an object with the founder. Winsor's Almshouses, in Castle Street, Farnham, have no chapel, nor had the scheme any recognition of a common life nor religious tie at all. They were founded in 1619, and are still a feature in what was the most picturesque street in Surrey before the inhabitants pulled down their old Market House.

Two other sets of almshouses ought to be named, namely, those of Sir George Wright's at Richmond, founded in 1600, the buildings of which are now quite modernised; and Sir

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John Denham's at Egham, founded in 1624, the humble buildings still existing, with the inscription, *Donum Dei et Deo.*

Almshouses on a small scale, and poorhouses, not exactly workhouses, but houses given *gratis* or let cheaply to poor families, to the detriment of the wages of other labourers who had to pay rents, were a too common form of benefaction to be enumerated, but were more common from after the Restoration onwards to about 1800. They were part of the better meant than executed efforts to cope with the industrial difficulties which coincided in time with, but were not caused by, the Reformation. It would be difficult to find any of the actual houses now. They ceased to be used after the reform of the Poor Law, if not before. They were certainly sometimes, probably always, bad, and have been pulled down or quite changed long ago.

The questions connected with the foundation, or refounding of schools, are too intricate for a brief discussion. We want details of the chantries suppressed in Surrey, but from analogy we judge that probably several chantry priests conducted, or had once conducted, schools. When Elizabeth founded Kingston Grammar School in the suppressed chantry chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in 1561, she was probably reviving an old foundation. Certainly there had been a school in Kingston as far back as 1368. There is evidence that in 1528 it had either ceased to be, or ceased to be a free school. Perhaps the new school was a revival of one which neglectful priests of the chantry had allowed to lapse. We have seen that there had been a grammar school in Croydon long before Whitgift's foundation.

In Guildford a free school was projected in 1509, but the completion of the scheme and the building were taken in hand in 1553 under the impulse of the Reformation revival, and endowed with chantry lands. The interesting buildings here were actually completed under Mary.

In Farnham the school, which is commonly said to have been founded in 1611, was apparently being revived by

Horne, Bishop of Winchester, at the end of his life in 1578. It certainly existed before 1611. It was held in a chapel, a chantry chapel to all appearance, at the north-west corner of the parish church, and was almost certainly a chantry school founded in 1351, and lapsed or suppressed in 1547.

In Southwark there had been a school in St. Thomas' Hospital, lapsed by neglect shortly before the Reformation, and probably one in St. Margaret's parish connected with the guild of the Assumption, founded in 1449. St. Margaret's Church was attached to what is now Southwark Cathedral, and the parish was amalgamated with the new St. Saviour's, which St. Mary Overies became. The inhabitants of this and of St. Olave's parish, immediately stirred after Elizabeth's accession, in 1559 and 1560 respectively, to found schools. The latter was at first only elementary. As the earliest rules are in remarkable language and spelling, even for that time—only "mene cheledarne," *i.e.* boys, are to be admitted—the elementary school of a former period may have lapsed before that generation learned to spell. Camberwell Grammar School was founded in 1615 by Edward Wilson, formerly vicar. School foundation went on in many places, elementary usually, down to the last century. But the establishment of grammar schools, especially in the seventy years after 1550, certainly looks like a desire to compensate for the loss of some opportunities of learning Latin, which had been afforded by abolished institutions of a religious character. All these new schools, grammar and elementary, without exception, had provisions for teaching the doctrines of the Church of England.

One function had been performed by the monasteries up to the last, indiscriminate almsgiving. The feeling that this was a virtue which had fallen into abeyance was clearly strong. The provision of doles is common enough in wills before, but becomes more common still after 1600. Perhaps a peculiar impulse was given to it in Surrey by Henry Smith, who certainly deserves to be remembered among charitable founders for his good intentions at least. He

163

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was not a pedlar, as legend says, but a silversmith, a member of the Salter's Company, and an alderman of London. The old pedlar's window at Lambeth celebrates another man. In his lifetime he gave £1000 apiece to Croydon, Dorking, Farnham, Godalming, Guildford, and Kingston. In his will he added £1000 each for Reigate and Richmond. In 1620 he put most of his large estate in trust for charitable purposes. In 1628 his will also provided for his poor kindred, for the poor of Wandsworth where he lived, for buying impropriated tithes to benefit poor clergy, for ransoming slaves from the Barbary pirates, and for small loans to needy men in business. His original trust provided doles for parishes, many outside Surrey, but for all Surrey parishes except Wanborough, Chilworth, and Tatsfield. The deserving poor, the aged, heads of large families, the infirm, orphans, but all honest and of good repute, were to receive bread, or flesh, or fish on Sabbath days, or clothes "of one colour," with Henry Smith's badge upon them. The money he gave was invested in land, of necessarily changing value as time went on. Smith's poor relations had the luck of being provided for from a farm in Kensington. They now receive £8000 a year. The parishes receive from a pound or two up to about £20, in most cases. Various attempts have been made to put the money to rational uses. The control of parish charities by parish councils has been usually fatal to such schemes, and the bread doles remain a source of waste, wrangling, and dishonesty. There can be no doubt that Smith's example gave a great impetus to similar benefactions. The receipt of bread is often burdened by the condition of attending church, and hearing, or otherwise sleeping through, a sermon. Indeed, many of the founders of doles, and of small almshouses, clearly wished to encourage the delivery of sermons every Sunday, and on special festivals, by no means a matter of course unless the parson got a guinea for preaching to the almspeople and governors. It is a question whether most of these benefactions are really efficient

without a very careful control, which is not always exercised. But the private founder in post-Reformation days anticipated only, he could not equal, the injury done by the old unreformed Poor Laws. Sometimes, as Whitgift, he showed the way towards the idea of a Noble Order of Poverty, where the indiscriminate relief of the State could not follow.

THE STORY OF THE HINDHEAD GIBBET

By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE general editor of this series has not, to my knowledge, imposed any precise limit as to the interpretation to be put on the word "Old," as used in the title of all the volumes. In one of them some account of the real Dick Turpin has appeared, and therefore the editor of the Surrey volume may perhaps be pardoned for giving an account of the strange and brutal murder which took place a century and a quarter ago on the brink of the Devil's Punch Bowl.

There are two reasons which seem to make it desirable to put this tragedy on record. In the first instance, the remarkable popularity which has descended upon Hindhead within the last few years, together with the memorials of the deed itself, both on the site of the crime and in the churchyard of Thursley, have combined to make the affair a subject of general interest and of constant inquiry to thousands. And secondly, the accounts of the event and of its subsequent memorials, generally in circulation, abound in errors and contradictions. It was, after all, a mere sordid crime, without a spark of romance about it; but the fact of the victim's identity being never disclosed, coupled with the striking position of the triple gibbet whence the murderers swung, on the highest and most exposed site by the old London and Portsmouth road, gave to the tragedy an extraordinary notoriety — a notoriety which is fully as great in 1911 as it was in 1786.

The following are the true particulars of the crime as gleaned from the news-sheets of the time, from the chronicle

of the *Annual Register*, and from one or two other old authorities. On Sunday, September 23, 1786, a lonely sailor was walking from London to Portsmouth, doubtless to join or rejoin a ship. Soon after leaving Godalming, turning aside into an inn, he met three men, who were also sailors on the tramp, Michael Casey, James Marshall, and Edward Lonegan.

In the *St. James' Chronicle*, of Saturday, September 30, to Tuesday, October 3, 1786, appeared the following account of the tragedy consequent on this chance encounter:—

"Sunday s'ennight a very shocking and barbarous murther was committed by three abandoned Villains; the unfortunate person who fell a sacrifice to these Ruffians accidentally met them at a Publick-House, at Moushill, near Goldalming, in Surrey, and as they were all seafaring men, he joined their company, and treated them plentifully; when he paid the Reckoning he changed a guinea, and told them (as they said their money was short) he would assist them on the road to Portsmouth as long as it lasted. They all went away together, and travelled as far as the Red Lion at Road Lane (Thursley), about two miles, when he treated them again; they then proceeded on their journey, but had not got above two miles further, a Place called Hind Head, before one of them knocked their Benefactor down, and they all immediately assisted him in stripping him quite naked, and with their knives mangled his Body in several Parts, and then nearly severed his Head from his Body. One of them, still not satisfied, said to his Companion, 'Lend me your knife, I'll have another cut at him,' which being given, they dragged him about two hundred yards out of the Road, and then proceeded towards Portsmouth. Luckily two men seeing these Villains dragging something along, their curiosity led them to the spot, where they found the mangled Corpse in the shocking situation described. They, not thinking it prudent to pursue the murtherers without assistance, went back to Road Lane, where they got eight or nine men to join them; and at Rake, near Petersfield, they came up with them, and after a stout Resistance secured them all. They were had before Justice Fielding, of Haslemere, Surrey, and, after separate examinations, committed to Guildford Gaol."

The *Public Advertiser* of October 4 contained a paragraph almost identical with the one in the *St. James' Chronicle*, but giving the date, in error, as "on Sunday last." Three short additional paragraphs were also printed, to the following effect:—

"They were all three Irishmen, and one of them had been shipmate with the deceased. It is horrid to relate that one of them declared, that was he

again at liberty, he would murder the first person he met; and they all acknowledged they had agreed to murder a man they met on the road between the place where they committed this shocking deed, and where they were taken, but were prevented by some persons coming in sight.

"They were conducted under a strong guard, and on coming to the house where the mangled corpse of the poor man lay, the guard insisted on their getting out of the coach to see and touch the body. One of them was much affected, and shed tears; but the other two seemed wholly unconcerned, and with an unpardonable audacity declared, 'They would do so again, had they an opportunity.'

"The same day a young man was stopt on the road about two miles from the spot where the above murder was committed, by two men, who knocked him down, and stuffing his mouth full of sand, robbed him of half a guinea. He was present at the examination of the murderers before Justice Fielding, but did not think either of them the person who robbed him."

Almost identical accounts also appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, and in the *London Advertiser* of October 3.

It is generally stated that the arrest was made at Sheet, a suburb of Petersfield, but the three men were really overtaken at the "Flying Bull," Rake, four miles nearer to Hindhead. It is said that at the moment of their capture they were endeavouring to dispose of their victim's clothes. The actual murder was late at night, and the stripped body, which was rolled some way down the Devil's Punch Bowl, was at first taken, according to one account, by the two discoverers to be that of a sheep. The arrest must have been made on the Monday morning, for the "Red Lion," Thursley, whither the discoverers returned to gain assistance, is two miles from Hindhead, and Rake a good eight miles from the summit of the hill on the Portsmouth road.

The *London Chronicle*, from Thursday, April 12, to Saturday, April 14, 1787, contains the following paragraph:—

"On the trial of Michael Casey, James Marshall, and Edward Lonegan, executed on Saturday morning at Hind Common, pursuant to their sentence at the Assizes for the County of Surrey, held last week at Kingston, the following circumstances were proved, which were also corroborated by the confession of the prisoners: that they were sailors out of employment, and that on their road to Portsmouth they met with the deceased, who was also a sailor, and

who having some money and they none, agreed to bear the expenses of their journey. The villains soon came to a resolution to murder their benefactor, and upon coming to Hind Common, near to the Devil's Punch Bowl, Casey knocked the deceased down; they then stripped him, and agreed each of them to have two cuts at his throat, which cruel resolution they put into effect, and then rolled the body into the Devil's Punch Bowl. Two countrymen, who had concealed themselves behind a hedge, were spectators of this horrid deed, who, following them at a distance, gave the alarm, and had the murderers secured."

The actual hanging and gibbeting took place on April 7, the bodies being first saturated in tar, and each fixed in a kind of iron cage or frame. The older inhabitants of the district are still ready enough to descant traditionally on the nature of this particular gibbet, and like to believe that it was different to any other ever erected. It is asserted, for instance, that no other gibbet was ever set up which bore a triple burden; but in this they are mistaken. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, three highwaymen were gibbeted on the top of the lofty Chevin, Hazelwood, Derbyshire, for robbing a coach. The high-road from Derby to Manchester then followed that mountainous direction. Shortly after its erection the gibbet and its victims were burnt at night, it is supposed by friends of the criminals. The present writer has been assured that the height of the Hindhead gibbet was 30 feet. There is also combined testimony as to the top of the single gibbet post being furnished with a wide iron ring or wheel, to which the grisly remains were securely fastened. This arrangement added to the ghastly effect, for in any strong gust of wind, such as often blows in this bleak exposed spot nearly 900 feet above sea-level, the gibbet top not only groaned and creaked, but swung round with its victims. The erection of this great gibbet must have been a heavy cost to the county of Surrey, and possibly the amount and details of the charges still survive. The charges to the county of Derby for gibbeting one Anthony Lingard, in 1814, on the moors of Wardlow, amounted to £95, 14s. 1d.

The Hindhead gibbet was not destroyed, like its

Derbyshire counterpart, by an intentional fire, but it suffered damage within four years of its erection after a more striking fashion. The following passage occurs in a letter of Gilbert White's, of Selborne, written on January 1, 1791 :—

"The thunderstorm of December 23rd, in the morning before day, was very awful ; but, I thank God, it did not do us the least harm. Two millers in a windmill on the Sussex Downs, near Goodwood, were struck dead by lightning that morning ; and part of the gibbet on Hindhead, on which two (*sic*) murderers were suspended, was beaten down."

Later accounts show that the effect of the lightning on the gibbet was not so severe as Gilbert White imagined ; it was probably much damaged, but the main post was still standing in 1827. The notoriety or fame of this particular gibbet, a kind of trophy with which England's moors and commons were freely garnished until well on in the nineteenth century, was doubtless owing to its close proximity to a high-road so constantly frequented by stage-coaches and post-chaises as the great road from London to Portsmouth. Every stage-coachman and guard would be eager to regale their passengers with the horrors of the tale.

A writer in William Hone's *Table Book*, towards the close of 1827, adds one or two items, not found elsewhere, as to the criminals. "When at the place of execution one of them observed, he only wished to commit one murder more, and that should be on Faulkner, the constable, who apprehended him." This letter, signed R. N. P., was written to draw the attention of Hone's readers to the fact that the somewhat alarming experience of riding or driving round the rim of the deep hollow known as the Devil's Punch Bowl was then over. "Some few years back," he says, "the road on one side was totally undefended against casualties of any description—overturning the coach into the bowl (some three or four hundred yards deep)—the bolting of a horse—or any of the delightful mishaps which could hurl you to the bottom —all is over! They—the improver of roads but destroyer of an awful yet pleasing picture—have cut a new road about

fifty or sixty feet below the former, and raised a bank, four feet high, round the edge, so that an accident is almost impossible, and no such chance as a roll to the bottom will again occur! The new road is somewhat shorter than the old—the effect completely spoiled—the stone to perpetuate the murder of the sailor unheeded—the gibbet unseen—and nothing left to balance the loss of these *pleasing* memorials, but less labour to the horses, and a few minutes of time saved in the distance! Eighteen years since, the usual stoppage, and 'Now, gentlemen, you'll have the goodness to alight, and walk up, you'll oblige,' took place. At the present time you are galloped around, and have scarcely time to admire the much-spoken-of spot."

The story of the memorial, or rather succession of memorials, to the sailor here mentioned as erected on the actual site of the crime is curious and complex. Immediately after the execution of the criminals, a stone of some magnitude was erected by the old roadside, the inscription on which is given in the *Table Book* after an abbreviated and mistaken fashion.

The stone was placed here by Mr. James Stilwell, of Cosford House, the then owner of the site. When the road was altered, the change was most strongly opposed by Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Stilwell's nephew. A part of his land had to be taken by compulsion. In the summer of 1826, the road trustees moved the stone from the old road to the margin of its successor, whereupon Mr. Hawkins claiming the stone to be his own, as heir to his uncle, caused it to be removed to his own residence.

The trustees, doubting their power to compel Mr. Hawkins to return the stone, caused another one with a similar inscription to be placed on their new road, with an addition stating that it replaced the one removed by Mr. Hawkins. Very soon after this second stone had been put in its place, it was mutilated at night, by the instigation, as was supposed, of Mr. Hawkins. The following advertisement was inserted in a Portsmouth paper:—

"TEN GUINEAS REWARD

"Whereas some evil-disposed person or persons did, in the night of Tuesday the 17th instant, maliciously break, deface, and injure the stone lately put up at Hindhead, by the Trustees of the Lower District of the Sheetbridge Turnpike Road, to perpetuate the memory of a murder committed there, in the place of one removed by one John Hawkins, Esq.

"Whoever will give information of the offender or offenders shall on his, ner, or their conviction receive a reward of Ten Guineas, which will be paid by Mr. James Howard, the Surveyor of the said Road.

WHITLEY, 26th July, 1827."

The reward failed to secure any information as to the mutilation of the second stone, and in the latter part of 1827 Mr. Hawkins had the first stone removed to a stonemason's yard at Farnham, outside whose premises it was for some time exhibited. Below the old inscription was cut: "See the back of this stone." On the back was engraved: "This stone was placed here by the order and at the cost of the late Jas. Stilwell, Esq., of Cosford, soon after the murder was committed, where it stood unmolested nearly forty years, and it was improperly taken away in the year 1826 by the Trustees of the Portsmouth Turnpike Road, and the inscription surreptitiously engraved upon another by the order of Mr. Leech: Cursed be the man who injureth or removeth this stone."

Mr. Hawkins, who died in 1838, wrote a pamphlet on the stone controversy in 1830, wherein it is definitely stated there were then "two monumental stones standing within a very short distance of each other, upon the summit of Hindhead." It appears, therefore, that the damaged stone of the Trustees was replaced on the new site, and that Mr. Hawkins re-erected the original on the old site.

Subsequently—probably directly after Mr. Hawkins' death—the absurdity of having two Sailor's Stones was brought to an end. Consent was given to the original stone being removed to the lower position of the new road, the pugnacious inscription on the back was removed, a shorter one recut, and the Trustees' stone destroyed. The

following may now be read on the original and somewhat restored stone, which was once the cause of such bitter local bickering:—

"Erected
In detestation of a barbarous Murder
Committed here on an unknown Sailor
On Sep. 24th, 1786,
By Edwd Lonegan, Michael Casey, and James Marshall,
Who were all taken the same day,
And hung in Chains near this place.

Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his
Blood be shed. Gen. Chap. 9 Ver. 6.

See the back of this Stone.

This stone was erected
A.D. 1786 by James Stilwell Esqr of Cosford,
And was renovated Sep. 29, 1889, by
James John Russell Stilwell Esqr of Killinghurst,
The descendant and representative of the Stilwells
Of Cosford and Moushill."

On the back is—

"This stone was erected by order and at the cost of James Stilwell Esqr of Cosford, 1786. Cursed be the man who injureth or removeth this stone."

It will be noticed that in recutting the inscription on the back, and also in the renovating part of the front inscription, the careless mistake has been made of giving the erection date as 1786; the stone obviously could not have been put up until after the execution in 1787.

Charles Dickens, in his immortal *Nicholas Nickleby*, first published in 1838–39, makes Nicholas and Smike pass over Hindhead on their tramp from London to Portsmouth, when there was but one stone:—

"They walked upon the rim of the Devil's Punch Bowl, and Smike listened with greedy interest as Nicholas read the inscription on the stone, which, reared upon that wild spot, tells of a foul and treacherous murder committed there by night. The grass on which they stood had been dyed with gore, and the blood of the murdered man had run down, drop by drop,

into the hollow which gives the place its name. 'The Devil's Punch Bowl,' thought Nicholas, as he looked into the void, 'never held fitter liquor than that.'" [1]

A now little-known and rare book of a flimsy character, written by a barrister in 1857, called *A Saunter through Surrey*, after describing the top of the grand height of Hindhead, and recording the horrible murder and the consequent hanging in chains, adds that he "found old men in Haslemere, who, when they were young boys, went to see that tragedy."

In a shop window of modern Hindhead is a block of wood which purports to be a portion of the old gibbet post. But that which appeals far more widely to the eye of the public is a series of four picture postcards, giving realistic representations of scenes in the local drama. These are reproduced from four old oil paintings, of a coarse character, which hang in the old-fashioned inn known as the "Royal Huts." They were painted by a man named Pearson, who at one time kept the inn at the corner of the road beyond Thursley, near to the three quaint hills of conical shape known as "The Devil's Jumps," a subject which he also vigorously illustrated. The first of the four pictures shows the arrival of the travellers at the "Red Lion," Thursley, a very different looking place to the comfortable roadside hostelry of the present day. The second picture portrays "The Deed," where the three villains begin to strip their victim. The third is "The Arrest" in the inn at Rake. The fourth, styled "The Gibbet Hill," shows more artistic power. In the gloom of a cloud-streaked moonlight, the great post on the hill-top uprears its burden; the forms of two only of the culprits are visible, the third has swung round out of sight; a carrier's van, dimly outlined, has begun the descent, whilst a well-laden coach and four is just gaining the summit.

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[1] See Mr. Morris' excellent *Guide to Haslemere and Hindhead* (2nd ed., 1906), pp. 46–48, 130–131.

"Placed in chains and there close by
The London Road, to be hung on high,
Where travellers by coach or van
All hear the tale of the murdered man,
As they near the gibbet tree—
A sight more loathsome none could see.
Hanging there both night and day,
Till piece by piece they dropped away;
And on the spot where the foul deed was done,
Can now be seen by every one,
And on that spot the travellers know
No heath nor grass doth ever grow."

The tradition embodied in the last couplet of these grim rhymes does not appear to linger; but a curious idea has still some currency in the district; it was told to me by two natives in 1909. That curious parasite the dodder, with its thin, blood-red threads and tasselled knots, spreads a web-like tangle over various of the low-growing furze bushes near the summit of Hindhead. The local saying is that the dodder never appeared here until after the sailor's murder, but that then it abounded and has lingered ever since. There are various weird fancies associated with this strange plant. In parts of Cornwall it is known by the unpleasant name of Devil's Guts, but a far more wholesome title was the mediæval English one of Our Lady's Laces.

On the highest point of Hindhead, a lofty Celtic cross of Cornish granite stands out clear against the sky-line. This cross was erected by the late Sir William Erle, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, in 1851. Sir William's worthy but unfulfilled idea was to purge this glorious spot, with its noble panorama of near and distant views, from blood-stained memories to higher Christian thoughts. On the four sides of the pedestal of the cross are inscribed these brief Christian legends, which can scarcely fail to uplift the hearts of some of the readers: *Post tenebras lux* (After the shadows light), *In luce spes* (In the light hope), *In obitu pax* (In death peace), and *Post obitum salus* (After death salvation).

It is often stated that this great cross occupies the exact

The Hindhead Gibbet.

site of the former gibbet. An old man not infrequently assures visitors that the butt of the gibbet post was dug out to receive it, adding, at the expense of veracity, that he saw this done. The fact is that the gibbet was erected more than a hundred yards from where the cross stands, immediately to the right of the old Portsmouth road when travelling to London, at the spot where that road reaches its highest level and where a track now leads to the actual flat summit of the hill. For this information, based on precise evidence, I am indebted to Mr. R. S. Whiteway, of Brownscombe, Shottermill.

So great was the impression made throughout the district by the murder of the unknown sailor that a public subscription raised the necessary funds to place over his grave, on the north-west side of the churchyard of Thursley, a monumental stone, which still stands in solitary state apart from all other memorials. In the upper part of the large stone is a rude but effective carving in low relief, within a medallion, of the killing and stripping of their victim by the three villains. Both draftsman and carver were sufficiently proud of their work to set forth their names in a scroll at the top of the stone: "M. Page delineat. J. Eads sculpt." The epitaph reads as follows:—

"In Memory of
A generous but unfortunate Sailor,
Who was barbarously murder'd on Hindhead
On Sepr 24th, 1786,
By three Villains
After he had liberally treated them
And promised them his farther Assistance,
On the Road to Portsmouth.

When pitying Eyes to see my Grave shall come,
And with a generous Tear bedew my Tomb;
Here shall they read my melancholy Fate,
With Murder and Barbarity complete.
In perfect Health, and in the Flow'r of Age,
I fell a Victim to three Ruffians' Rage;
On bended Knees I mercy strove t' obtain,
Their Thirst of Blood made all Entreaties vain.

No dear Relation, or still dearer Friend,
Weeps my hard Lot, or miserable End;
Yet o'er my said Remains, (my name unknown,)
A generous Public have inscrib'd this Stone."

It only remains to add that a few years ago Mr. Baring Gould made this tragedy the pivot of his novel *The Broon Squire*. The story shows that the writer has fully grasped the spirit of the scenery of the district, but all the incidents of the crime are turned topsy-turvy, and the murdered sailor is depicted as carrying a baby-girl in his arms, Mehetabel, who becomes the heroine of the narrative.

FANNY BURNEY AND SURREY

By S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A.

THE association of this writer with Surrey somewhat recalls that of Jane Austen with Hampshire, George Eliot with Derbyshire, and Miss Mitford with Berkshire.

The early days of Fanny Burney were passed with her old friends, the Thrales, at Streatham, succeeded by visits to Chessington, where lived the Crisps, other family friends, thence to Norbury, near Dorking, the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. Locke.

We next find mention of Kew, where, attached to the Court of George III., Miss Burney passed a tedious time in the quiet retreat of a country home, living, as she expressed it, "without form or ceremony of any sort."

It was, however, at Mickleham, near Dorking, and at Bookham, situate in the most picturesque part of the county, that much of Fanny Burney's time was passed in literary work, and in friendship and intercourse with noted men and women of the day.

At Mickleham her marriage with Monsieur D'Arblay took place, and a sojourn there of some years has claimed for this part a distinct and lasting memorial. It was, however, at Streatham that Miss Burney's early connection with the county began, in visits to the Thrales, whose house stood in a park described as "pleasantly situated in a fine paddock," not far distant from Streatham Parish Church. The house was destroyed about 1863, and the memory of this famous spot is retained only in the name of roads and spaces around.

The present Thrale Road runs parallel to the old kitchen garden, mentioned by Miss Burney, and the house stood in well wooded grounds. My "second home," wrote that lady, whose diary recorded the sale of the Streatham portraits in 1816.

Of her father's (Dr. Burney's) portrait she wrote: "I am truly rejoiced it will come into our family. . . . To what recollections, at once painful and pleasing, does this sale give birth! The portraits were painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and included those of Murphy, Goldsmith, Garrick, Baretti, Burke, and Johnson. In the library, in which these pictures were hung, we always breakfasted, and there I have had as many precious conversations with the great and good Dr. Johnson as there are days in the year." "While the *Lives of the Poets* was in progress," wrote Madame D'Arblay, "Dr. Johnson would frequently produce one of the proof sheets to embellish the breakfast table, the most sprightly and agreeable meeting of the day."

In 1821 Mrs. Piozzi wrote: "You would not know poor Streatham Park. I have been forced to dismantle and forsake it."

Dr. Johnson made frequent use of the library. His words were, on finally leaving Streatham in 1782: "Sincere thankfulness" in remembering the "comforts and conveniences that he enjoyed at this place." A room was always reserved for him, and for twenty years he was the honoured guest of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, whom he used to call "my master and my mistress."

His aversion to the marriage of the latter with Mr. Piozzi found expression in the words: Mrs. Thrale "has done everything wrong since Thrale's bridle was off her neck." Dr. Johnson's favourite walk was from Thrale House across Streatham Common, and homewards to Norbury.

The once village-like Streatham could scarcely now be recognised; the church on the site of an earlier one was rebuilt about 1831. The dedication to St. Leonard seems

to point to a connection with the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, for the monks of that abbey held lands of Tooting and Streatham, and dedicated their chapel to St. Leonard. Tooting Bec Common retains in name its association with this past phase of history. In Streatham Church are tablets with inscriptions by Dr. Johnson for Mr. Thrale, and nearly opposite the church, almshouses founded by the Thrale family.

In the eighteenth century the spas and wells round London were much frequented; those at Streatham are mentioned in the *Post Boy* of 1717 as follows :—

> " The true Streatham waters fresh every morning only at Child's Coffee-house in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the Garter Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange. All gentlemen and ladies may find good entertainment at the Wells of Thomas Lamb."

Aubrey, the Surrey historian, writing of these wells in 1673, said : " They attracted the attention of a number of physicians who came down to analyse them, and went away eulogising their wondrous virtues." It is curious to note, that while several spas near London have disappeared, that at Streatham still exists at the end of Wells Lane, now Wellfield Road, and the water is sold in bottles on the spot and delivered in town daily. The spa became so famous that before the end of the seventeenth century, prominence was given to the site of these springs in a county map published at that time.

In a work entitled *Analysis of Streatham Waters*, printed in 1750, the author came to the conclusion that these were the most powerful medicated springs in Great Britain. Assemblies were held here as late as 1755, when Streatham high-road and the Common were fashionable promenades. Since the popularity of foreign travel, this spa has been almost neglected as a pleasure haunt.

Among the noted guests at Thrale House was Dr. Johnson, who enjoyed many conversations with Miss Burney. He had been struck by a fancy that she should

begin by writing a farce called *Streatham*. So much was he interested in this young author's career that when asked by Mrs. Thrale at dinner to have some mutton pies, he declared that "sitting next Miss Burney made him too proud to eat mutton." Dr. Burney, another visitor, informed Boswell that he very frequently met Dr. Johnson, where they had many long conversations, "after sitting up as long as the fire and candles lasted." A succession of visitors was drawn to Streatham; many noted clergy also formed part of this coterie, while Mrs. Thrale's powers attracted all by her ready wit, goodness of heart, and affability. Truly, this resort of learned men and women might well be called the "Holland House" of its generation.

Among this group was the Rev. Thomas Twining of Colchester, grandson of the founder of the famous tea-house in the Strand, where stood many tea-houses in the eighteenth century known by their trade signs over the door, as the "Golden Canister," "Chinamen," the "Olive Tree and Sun," all of which have gone among the vanished landmarks of old London.

Some memorial of these quaint signs survives in the trade cards extolling the virtues of tea, and designed by such artists as Hogarth and Cipriani, and occasionally to be seen in museums and private collections.

Miss Burney wrote: "I do not know how to express the fullness of my contentment at this sweet place. Mrs. Thrale would give courage to the most timid. She did not ask me questions, or catechize me on what I knew, or use any means to draw me out, but made it her business to draw herself out. I am so much in love with her that I shall be obliged to run away from the subject or shall write of nothing else."

A recent writer has said: "Of the many coteries which flourished during the first half of the reign of George III. that of Streatham was the most influential, the most active, and the most cosmopolitan, both in its composition and tendencies." The social influence of Mrs. Thrale

was predominant, and of the combination of her powers Madame D'Arblay described her "wonderful character for talents and eccentricity, for wit, genius, spirit, and power of entertainment." Of Madame D'Arblay's last visit to Streatham in 1782 she wrote: "Changed indeed was Streatham; gone its chief and changed his relict!" The same writer remembered when her father bade farewell to Streatham with tears in his eyes, and when Johnson, on his way to London, exclaimed, "That house is lost to me for ever."

Chessington, near Ewell, was another home of the Burneys, where lived their intimate friends, the Crisps, at Chessington Hall. This building of plain brick is still standing, but has been much modernised and rebuilt about 1803. The garden and avenue to the church can be traced. In the nave of the church is a large marble tablet which marks the resting-place of Mr. Crisp, and the inscription, penned by Dr. Burney, emphasises the loss of that valued friendship. Dr. Burney wrote to his daughter: "How heavily I shall feel his loss. I have always thought that in many particulars his equal was not to be found. His wit, learning, taste, penetration, and, when well, his conviviality, pleasantry, and kindness of heart to me and mine will ever be thought of with the utmost profound and desponding regret."

Dr. Burney was a frequent visitor to Chessington, and while there had written a large portion of his *History of Music*. Here it was that his gifted daughter sat for her portrait, painted by her cousin, Edward Burney, and in the rustic arbour of the garden wrote much of her novel, *Evelina*.

The unlooked-for success of this book became known here, and it is said that the author, in delight, danced round the mulberry tree in the garden! While at Chessington Fanny Burney heard of Mr. Thrale's illness and death in 1781, and left this place for a time to console her faithful friend at Streatham.

She did not visit Chessington again until 1793, just before

her marriage with Monsieur D'Arblay. So greatly was this home of the Crisps endeared to the Burney family that it acquired the name of "Liberty Hall."

Another sojourn of the Burneys was Norbury Park, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Locke, the lifelong friends of Fanny Burney. Situate in the midst of romantic scenery, commanding views far and wide, the house was surrounded by verdant woods, where beeches, chestnuts, and cedars of Lebanon flourished in all their beauty. In his *Field Paths and Green Lanes*, Mr. Louis Jennings thus writes of the spot:—

"Norbury Park is not a place to be seen at one visit, but to be wandered over at leisure, sometimes in the lower parts in company with the river Mole, sometimes among the woods through which even a July sun scarcely has the power to pierce, and where the ground is covered with cool green moss on the hottest summer's day." On the walls of the house itself were landscapes painted in imitation of the surrounding scenery, and praised by Gilpin in his *Observations on Picturesque Beauty*.

At Mr. Locke's home were gathered many in the world of art and letters, and among them was Sir Thomas Lawrence, who said: "I have seen much of the world since I was admitted to Norbury Park, but I have never seen another Mr. Locke." Miss Burney wrote: "This sweet place is beautiful even yet—the character of the prospect is so grand that winter cannot annihilate its charms, though it greatly diminishes them. The variety of the grounds and striking form of the hills always afford something new to observe." At the foot of these hills ran the little river Mole; its sluggish underground course sometimes gave to it the epithet of "sullen."

> "That like a mousling mole doth make
> His way still underground, till Thames he overtake."

At Molesey this stream flows into the Thames. The name Mole does not appear to have been its ancient name,

but to have been called Amele or Emele from the word "am," Celtic for water, with the prefix "le" or "ley."[1]

Of her life at Norbury, Fanny Burney writes in her diary of the year 1784 :—

"Nothing can be more truly pleasant than our present lives. I bury all disquietude in immediate enjoyment, an enjoyment more fitted to my secret mind than any I had ever hoped to attain. We are so perfectly tranquil that not a particle of our whole frames seems ruffled or discomposed.

"Our mornings, if fine, are to ourselves, and Mr. Locke rides out; if bad, we assemble in the picture room. We have two books in public reading, *Madame de Sévigné's Letters* and *Cook's Last Voyage*. Mrs. Locke reads the French, myself the English. Our conversations are such as I could almost wish to last for ever. Mr. Locke has been all himself—all instruction, information, and intelligence. . . . The invariable sweetness as well as judgment of all he says, leaves nothing indeed to wish."

So greatly did Fanny Burney feel the separation from her friends, the Lockes, that when holding office at the Court of George III. she wrote: "I have no heart to write to Mickleham or Norbury." It was at Norbury that Miss Burney heard the news of Mrs. Thrale's marriage with Mr. Piozzi, and while here she was offered a post in the royal household of George III. and his queen, an offer which came through the kind offices of Mrs. Delany, who had been attached to the Court.

Of Mrs. Delany, Burke said: "She was a perfect pattern of a perfect fine lady, a real lady of other days."

George III. and his family spent much of their time at Kew Palace, where the absence of state and a homelier life was much the custom. Kew had been made a royal abode by Frederick, Prince of Wales, about 1730, and his widow employed Sir William Chambers to carry out ornamental and constructive work. About the grounds, classic-like temples, some designed by this architect, recalled the fashionable taste of that day. The success of this famous artist may be attributed to his introduction at Court; he taught drawing to the Prince of Wales, in 1768 was made

[1] *Surrey Etymologies*. R. A. C. Godwin-Austen. Surrey Archæological Society, vol. v.

Comptroller of H.M. Works, and had a country house at Whitton, near Hounslow.

Somerset House, his noted enterprise, has been described as the "greatest work of the reign of George III." "The whole Georgian age," writes Justin M'Carthy, "from its dawn to its dusk is rich in splendid names in art and letters," and many celebrities claimed the friendship of this architect.

Kew Palace was called the "Princes' House." The present house, now known as Kew Palace, was thrown open to the public in 1898 by the late Queen Victoria.

A homely red brick structure, with the date 1631 over the door, this house contains several old-fashioned rooms, with recessed window seats, narrow flights of stairs, and carved banisters. Many heirlooms are preserved here, as samplers, Georgian portraits, flowers wrought in silk design, and other curios, and Queen Victoria had a tablet placed inside "to the memory of Queen Charlotte, consort of George III."

The gardens, then called Richmond gardens, were famed for their rare trees and plants, and we can picture Queen Charlotte walking through these grounds, thence to the old physic garden, which was begun in 1760. The gardens had been enriched from time to time with choice plants, and the collection became very famous. The home life of George III. was a pleasing change from official routine and etiquette at Windsor or St. James's, and the Court was generally here from May to November. Miss Burney's diary records many incidents of her sojourn. On a bleak November day in 1788 the Court arrived at Kew; the house was in great discomfort, and, added to the king's illness, made a mournful time for all.

The improvement in the king's health restored some brightness to Kew; illuminations blazed from the royal abode, and were also displayed in London. After the king's recovery, Miss Burney accompanied the royal party in visits to Salisbury, Weymouth, and other towns. So

delighted were the people at the event that "God save the King" was the constant cry wherever the retinue passed.

Miss Burney quitted the royal household in 1791, and wrote down after this five years' service, "Here end my Court annals."

Richmond is also linked with some memories of our diarist, who visited Sir Joshua Reynolds at his house on Richmond Hill, meeting there many noted characters.

After release from Court trammels, Miss Burney's broken health caused her to make several journeys to famous places, of which Winchester and Farnham Castle were included. Of the cathedral she said: "I could hardly quit this dear old building, so much was I interested in it." Farnham Castle, then in the occupancy of Bishop North, is described as "a good old building, with as much of modern elegance and fashion as Mrs. North could contrive to weave into its ancient grandeur."

The castle has many historic charms, recalling the names of some of its famous owners, who built or repaired parts of the ancient structure—Bishop Henry de Blois, William of Wykeham, Waynflete, &c.; and in Restoration days Bishop Morley, whose benefactions to Farnham were so great that Charles II. said "he would never be a penny richer for his Bishopric."

"The church-building eras of English history," wrote the late J. R. Green, "have been marked by the lives of noted men in the Church. . . . In the case of the later Bishops who came after the Commonwealth, many of their homes ruined or much spoilt, offers a new phase of the subject, and Morley's generosity exceeds others we have heard of at this time."

"Farnham Castle," said Dr. Boyd of St. Andrews (better known as A. K. H. B.), "is one of the stateliest of English homes. Often I looked at the solemn chapel, the keep with its rose gardens and peaceful prospect—the outlook on the red town, glowing with sunset among green trees."

As a border stronghold the castle commanded a wide

stretch of country. During the Civil Wars it was, to an extent, saved from spoliation. In those stormy days Sir John Denham was Governor, succeeded by Withers, the graceful and fantastic poet of the Commonwealth. In the seventeenth century we read the names of Isaac Walton, Dr. Donne, and others who were welcomed by some of the bishops, either here or in the old city of Winchester. All round Farnham some literary interest is aroused. With Moor Park, we call to mind Swift, Stella, and Sir William Temple; while William Cobbett was a native of the town.

"There are names
Of good men and of true enshrined here."

Waverley Abbey, a Cistercian foundation, also claims notice. Its existing remains, specially the vaulted crypts and other portions, have been carefully preserved, and excavations opened up and perfected through the work of the Surrey Archæological Society. William Cobbett, a native of Farnham, wrote of the gardens here: "Though I have seen and observed as many fine gardens as any man in England, I have never seen a garden equal to that of Waverley. It was the spot where I first began to learn to work, or rather where I first began to eat fine fruit in a garden."

Around Miss Burney's later life and residence at Mickleham and Bookham, a great social and literary interest centres. Among the French refugees who, for political and other causes, had left France and settled at Juniper Hall, was General D'Arblay, afterwards married to Fanny Burney at Mickleham Church in 1793.

These exiles were constitutional monarchists who had been instrumental in making the constitution, and who had sought safety in flight when the constitution was crushed. Of that illustrious group was Madame de Staël, Talleyrand, and others. Between the famous Frenchwoman and Madame D'Arblay a mutual sympathy ensued. The former, writing in 1793, remarks: "When I learned to read

English I begun by Milton to know all or renounce all at once. I follow the same system in writing my first English letter to Miss Burney. . . . I feel for her so tender a friendship that it melts my admiration and inspires my heart with hope of her indulgence . . ." And Madame de Staël on her departure wrote: "Tell Miss Burney that I leave the country, loving her sincerely."

A comparison has been made between Mrs. Thrale and Madame de Staël, and of the latter Madame D'Arblay wrote: "She is one of the first women I have ever met with for abilities and extraordinary intellect. She is more in the style of Mrs. Thrale than of any other celebrated character, but has infinitely more depth, and seems a profound politician and metaphysician."

In the heart of the wooded country between Leatherhead and Dorking, Madame D'Arblay passed four happy years, from 1793–97. Near at hand were her friends the Lockes, at Norbury Park; her favourite sister, Mrs. Phillips, was also a neighbour; while her literary work went on rapidly at her temporary home at Bookham ere the cottage was built on ground given by her friend, Mr. Locke. It was at Bookham that the plans for writing her novel, *Camilla*, were considered. In 1796 the book was published by subscription, and dedicated to Queen Charlotte, and from this spot Madame D'Arblay set out to present the first copy to the king and queen at Windsor, by whom it was most favourably received.

Among her subscribers were Edmund Burke, who wrote from Bath: "How ill I am you will easily believe, when a new work of Madame D'Arblay's lies on my table unread." His great career was closing, clouded by family trouble, but he roused himself in furthering the success of this book, sending £20 for one copy, accompanied by a sympathetic letter.

In the Slyfield Chapel is the famous brass with inscription to Henry Slyfield, his wife, and six children, with effigies and coat of arms; also a brass to the Shiers family

who built the manor-house of Slyfield. This house of the early seventeenth century, chiefly of brick, has a fine carved staircase, and enriched ceilings, and is one of Surrey's picturesque homes. Little Bookham Church, restored in 1864, does not arouse so much interest, but has a fine old yew tree in the churchyard.

The churches of Great and Little Bookham claim notice. In the former are several fine monuments of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, some to the Slyfield family. The brass to Henry Slyfield, wife, and ten children is 1590. The Surrey home which has the greatest interest in Madame D'Arblay's career was the so-called "Camilla Cottage," situated at West Humble, on land adjoining Norbury Park, the residence of Mr. Locke. In this new home the D'Arblays lived until 1802, when they left for France, and Madame D'Arblay never resided in Surrey again.

The cottage still exists, though enlarged and altered, and is now called Camilla Lacey, and in one of the old rooms are some interesting family relics. The garden, so often mentioned in the diary, was smaller than at present. In gardening, General D'Arblay found much amusement and recreation, and to encourage him in these pursuits Dr. Burney gave him a copy of Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*. Her "indefatigable superintendent," as Madame calls her husband, "goes every morning to his field to work at a sunk fence that is to protect his garden from our cow." His gardening operations were somewhat crude; it is related that after clearing away weeds, and showing his work to a gardener, "the man said he had demolished an asparagus bed!"

Madame D'Arblay writes to her father: "I wish you could have seen him (General D'Arblay) mowing down our hedge—with his sabre, and with an air and attitude so military, that if he had been hewing down legions, he could scarcely have had a mien more tremendous." Life went on happily in this retreat. "The prospect everywhere is so gay and lovely, and the park of dear Norbury so close at

hand, that we hardly knew how to require anything else for existence than the enjoyment of our own situation." To this may be added the words of this diarist: "To me wealth and ambition would always be unavailing. I have always seen that the happiness of the richest and greatest has been the moment of retiring from riches and power."

After living in France during a period of political upheavals, Madame D'Arblay returned to England in 1815, and spent her latter years in Bath and London.

The death of her husband and son left its traces of deep sorrow, but she occupied herself writing her father's memoirs during the years 1828–32. Her friend, Mrs. Locke, was another loss. In all these changes Madame D'Arblay retained a sympathy and friendship for others. In 1826 Sir Walter Scott was introduced to her, whom he described "as an elderly lady, with a simple gentle manner."

In Walcot Church, Bath, a tablet records that "she was the friend of Johnson and Burke, and by her talents has obtained a name far more durable than marble can confer."

In that Queen City of the West she had once lived as the guest and warm friend of Mrs. Thrale, and was eagerly sought after by the brilliant literary throng who gathered in that famous haunt of letters and fashion. Can we not truly say that her deepest friendships were formed and her literary work accomplished during her sojourn and her home in Surrey? The interest that gathered round the spots identified with this writer will always form one of the brightest annals of the County. Home scenery and its associations thus grows of greater value, viewed in this light, and intensifies the words of that quaint writer, Thomas Fuller: "Knowest thou the rooms of thy own country before thou goest over the limits thereof."

INDEX

Abbeys of Chertsey and Waverley, 239–252
Abbot, Archbishop, 154, 256–257
—— family, 57–58
Abingdon Abbey, 242
Abinger, 3
Adam, Abbot, 243
Addington, 9, 50, 54, 80, 83, 84
Addirley, Joan, 59
Addlestone, 49
Aguillon, Robert, 9
Aislabie, John, 251
Alan, Abbot, 243
Albury, 3, 16, 22, 30, 49, 53, 61, 170
Alfold, 33, 84
Alfred, 6, 132
Allen, Edward, 258–260
Almshouses, 262–263, 264–265
Almuce, the, 68–69
Anderson, R. D., 252
—— T. D., 252
Andred, forest of, 33
Angewin, Abbot, 244
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 18
—— churches, 6
—— *Period*, 26–31
Annandale, Earl of, 46
Anstiebury, 21
Arderne family, 76
Artois, Robert, 10
Arundel, Earl of, 8, 142–144
Ash, 37
—— *trees*, 32
Ashtead, 6, 32, 83, 84
Ashurst, 32
Atrebates, 3
Audeley, Lord, 62
Aumone Abbey, 247
Austin Order, 241
Azor, 7

Bagshot, 12, 14, 45
—— Sand, 2
Baldwin, Archbishop, 241
Balham, 30
Banstead, 34
Barker, John, 58
Barn Elms, 14
Barnes, 71
Bartholomew, Abbot, 243
Bastard of Falconbridge, the, 6
Battersea, 34
Battle, 7
Baynards, 16
Beddington, 22, 24, 26, 29, 73, 83–86, 170, 223
Beddlestead, 22
Beech trees, 32, 41
Benedictine Order, 240
Bentley, 5
Beocca, Abbot, 242
Bermondsey, 11, 83
—— Abbey, 82, 86, 222–238
Betchworth, 9, 49, 52, 76
Bidder, H. F., 28
Bisham Priory, 246
Bishop's Walk, 164
Bisley, 37
Black Prince, the, 131
—— *cock*, 13
Blasius, St., 245
Bletchingley, 3, 8, 9, 11, 25, 52, 77, 82, 86–87
Boleyn, Anne, 166
Bookham, Great, 64, 87, 242–243, 279, 290
—— Little, 50, 290
Boulogne, Eustace of, 7
Bowthe, Bishop, 63
Box Hill, 32
—— *trees*, 32
Boxgrove, 32
Brakespear, Harold, 252
Bramley, 35
Braose, William de, 7
Brasses, Memorial, 52–81
—— *palimpsest*, 55–56
Bray family, 16
Brentford, 4

Bronze Age, 22
Brookwood, 32, 36
Buckland, 32, 87–88
Burke, Edmund, 289
Burney, Fanny, 279–291
Burstow, 50, 88
Bustards, 13
Buxted, 50
Byfleet, 12, 37, 52, 67, 171

CADE, Jack, 6
Camberwell, 1, 53, 80, 83, 88, 223
Camilla, 289
Canterbury Peculiars, 5
Canute, 6
Capel, 13
Carew family, 73
Carshalton, 22, 26, 29, 30, 52, 74, 88
Carthusian Monks, 240
Castlemaine, Lady, 144
Castles of Surrey, 9–11
Cat, Wild, 13, 37
Cecil, Sir Thomas, 144
Chaldon, 171–183
Chalhurst, 32
Chambers, Sir William, 145
Charcoal-burners, 3
Charlton, 21
Charlwood, 76, 82, 89, 183–186
Chartwood, 32
Cheam, 75, 83, 89
Chelsham, 22, 82, 90
Cherkley Court, 50
Chertsey, 3, 11, 13, 38, 39
—— Abbey, 5, 30, 37, 90, 242–246
Chesham, 223
Chessington, 90, 279–283
Chetel, 36
Chichele, Archbishop, 150, 165
Chiddingfold, 3, 5, 33
Childe, Alwyn, 223
Chipstead, 26, 91
Chobham, 35, 37, 38, 242
Chrisom child, 55, 77
Christian Prayers and Meditations (Day), 161
Christopher, St., 168–170, 187, 206–207, 220
Cistercian Order, 240
Citeaux, 247
Clandon, 16, 49, 82, 91–92
—— East, 186
Clare Castle, 9
Clare, Earls of Gloucester, 7–8
Clere, Thomas, 81
Clinch, George, *Pre-Norman Surrey*, 18–31
Clink Prison, 230
Cluniac Monks, 222, 240
Cluny, Abbot of, 222
Cobbett, William, 13, 288
Cobham, 50, 52, 54, 66, 92, 243
—— Sir John, 9
—— Sir Reginald, 78–79
Coins, hoards of, 23, 30
Collar of SS., 55, 61, 77
—— *of Suns and Roses*, 55, 74
Collegiate Churches, 241
Collingwood, 32
Compton, 58, 82, 93
Conies, 38
Copley family, 16
Cordrey, Abbot, 245
Cosford, 274
Coulsdon, 26, 83, 95, 243
Cowdray, 15
Cowey Stakes, 4
Cox, Rev. Dr., *Abbeys of Chertsey and Waverley*, 239–252
—— —— *Forests of Surrey*, 32–51
—— —— *Hindhead Gibbet*, 267–278
Cranleigh, 16, 52, 60, 82, 95
Cranmer, Archbishop, 161, 166
Cranmer's Tower, 165
Crisp family, 279, 284
Croham Common, 1
—— Hurst, 20–21
Cromwell, Thomas, 13, 43, 245, 250
Crooksbury Heath, 48
Crouch Oak, 49
Crowhurst, 15, 32, 50, 53, 78, 95
Croydon, 2, 5, 11, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27–28, 34, 52, 72, 96, 187, 255–256
—— Palace, 148, 156
Cuddington, 13, 142

D'ABERNOUN, Sir John, 65–66
Danes, the, 6, 242
D'Arblay, General, 274, 288–291
Davidson, Archbishop, 165
Day, John, 162
Deepdene, 49
Deer, 12–13, 36, 38, 41–45, 166
Defoe, 15
Deptford, 15
Devil's Guts, 276
—— *Jumps*, 275
—— *Punch Bowl*, 267–278

Ditton, 16
Domesday Survey, 1–2, 7, 17, 18, 33–46
Dominican Friars, 241
Dorchingas, 5
Dorking, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 22, 30, 254
Dulwich, 258–260
Dunsfold, 33, 97, 188
Dunton, Richard, 233
Durfold, 33, 50
Duxhurst, 32

EARLSFIELD, 19
Earlswood, 32
Earthworks, 21
Easter Sepulchre, 56
Edith, Queen, 7
Effingham, 97
Egbert, 5–6
Egham, 38, 242–243
Elenbrygge, John, 77
Elmsbrygge, Roger, 73
Elstead, 97
Ely House, 151
Epsom, 243
Erasmus, 161
Erkenwald, 242
Erle, Sir William, 276
Esher, 14
Ethelwald, 242
Ethelwulf, 6
Evelyn family, 16, 48
Evelyn, John, 158
Ewell, 3, 35, 54, 75, 97, 243
Ewhurst, 4, 32, 98
Eyries of hawks, 35

FAIRBANK, Dr., *Memorial Brasses*, 52–81
—— *Bermondsey Abbey*, 222–238
Fairfield, 33
Faith, St., 245
Farley Heath, 3, 22, 25
Farnborough, 38
Farncombe, 34
Farnham, 1–2, 5, 9, 11, 19, 22, 35, 98, 254, 287
Farnham Castle, 10
Farthing Down, 26–27
Fetcham, 3, 6, 7, 34, 99, 188
Field, a clearing, 33
Fielding, Justice, 268
Fisher, Bishop, 149
FitzAdrian family, 55
Fitz-Anseulf, William, 7
Fitzwilliam, William, 43, 251
Flitchfield, 33
Floods, 226–228, 242, 247–248
Flying Bull, 269
Fold, an enclosure, 33
Fold Country, the, 33
Forest Hill, 3
Foresters, 41
Forests, 12–13, 32–51
Foxes, 13, 37, 242
Frelonde, Walter, 67
French Monks, 232
Frensham, 99
—— Common, 13
Friars, 241
Friars Observant, 138, 241
Frithwald, 5, 242
Fromonde family, 16
Fromonde, Thomas, 75
Furness Abbey, 245

GAGE family, 16
Gairdner, Dr., 245
Gatton, 3, 99
Gaynesford family, 15, 74, 78
George, St., 168, 187, 208
George's, St., Hill, 2
Giffard, Bishop, 247, 249
Glanville, Gilbert, 148
Glassmaking, 3, 238
Godalming, 6, 35, 50, 189–191, 268
Godalmingas, 5
Godstone, 4, 9
Gould, Baring, 278
Great Storm, 48
Grenehurst, 32
Greyhounds, 38, 41
Grindal, Archbishop, 159
Guildford, 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 19, 30, 36, 37, 39–44, 82, 99–100, 132–133, 254, 268
—— Castle, 10
—— St. Mary's, 191–204
Guildown Street, 12

HALE, Edward, 60
Ham, 39
Hammond, Dr., 246
Hampton Court, 14, 43–44, 136
Hardicanute, 131
Harding, Stephen, 241
Hares, 13, 37, 242
Harold, 7
Hascombe, 100
Haslemere, 22, 268

Hastings, 7
Hawking, 35, 41
Hawkins, Mr., 272–273
Heathfield, 33
Hede, Thomas, 244
Henley, 12, 14
Henley Park, 42–43
Heron, William, 72
Herpsford, 39
Herring, Archbishop, 148
Hindhead, 13
Hindhead Gibbet, the, 267–278
Historic Surrey, 1–17
Hog's Back, 12, 39
Holdhurst, 32
Holmbury, 21
Holmwood, 13, 32
Holwood, 21
Hone's *Table Book*, 271–272
Hookwood, 32
Horley, 54, 77, 82, 101, 204, 243
Horne, 101
Horseferry Road, 148, 164
Horsell, 67, 102
Horsham, 15
Horshill, 37
Horsley, East, 63, 204
—— West, 14, 83, 102
Hospitals, 241, 254, 256–258, 260–262
Howard, Catherine, 81
Howards of Effingham, 8, 14
Hubert, Archbishop, 148, 242
Hugh, Abbot, 243
Huntsmen, 35
Hurst, a wood, 32
Hurstwood, 32
Hutton, Thomas, 67

IFOLD, 33
Iron Age, 22
Iron Industry, 14
Ironsides, Edmund, 4
Isabel, Countess of Arundel, 249
Iwarby, Lady Jane, 75

JOAN of Kent, 131
Johnson, Dr., 280, 282
Johnston, P. M., 94, 127
—— ——, *Wall Paintings in Surrey Churches*, 168–221
Jones, Inigo, 156–157, 260
Julius Cæsar, 4
Juniper Hall, 288
Jutes, 5, 28
Juxon, Archbishop, 150, 156–158

KENNINGTON, 129–131, 149
Kershaw, S. W., *The Fortunes of Lambeth Palace*, 145–167
—— *Fanny Burney and Surrey*, 279–291
Keston, 24
Kew, 279, 285–286
—— House, 144–146
Killinghurst, 32
Kingfold, 33
King's Oak, 49
Kingston, 3, 6, 7, 11, 22, 54, 57, 71, 82, 83, 102–104, 131–132, 241

LA CHARITÉ, Priory of, 223
Lagham Castle, 9
Lambeth, 11, 54, 80, 82, 83, 104–105, 223, 241
Lambeth Palace, The Fortunes of, 148–167
Langhurst, 32
Laud, Archbishop, 154–157, 159, 162, 164
Leatherhead, 3, 11, 105
Legh, Dr., 245
Leigh, 54, 76, 83, 105
Leith Hill, 16
Leofwine, 7
Leper Hospitals, 241
Lewes, Priory of, 222–223
Leyton, Dr., 245
Limpsfield, 19, 33, 35, 106, 205
Lincoln, Earl of, 14
Lingfield, 21, 33, 53, 78, 83, 106, 241
Lollard's Tower, 150, 163
London, 6–7, 9
—— Bridge, 6–7
—— *clay*, 2
Long Ditton, 71
Loseley, 16
Lovelace, Earl of, 49
Lowfield, 33
Lyfelde, Thomas, 66

MALDEN, 34, 108, 241
Malden, H. E., *Historic Surrey*, 1–17
—— *Post-Reformation Foundations*, 253–266
Merton, Walter de, 241
May, Abbot, 244
Mayfield, 33
Meadfield, 33
Mercia, 5
Merrow, 205

Merstham, 53, 77, 108, 205
Merton, 241
Mickleham, 34, 54, 64, 110, 279
Midleton, Viscount, 49
Mitcham, 26, 28, 83, 110
—— Common, 19
Mitred Abbots, 235
Mole, 5, 284
Monastic tenants, 240
Montacute, Lord, 15
More family, 16
Mortain, Robert of, 7
Mortlake, 14, 46, 47, 82, 110
Morton, Cardinal, 151–152
Morton's Tower, 152
Moulsey, 4
Moushill, 268, 274
Mowbray, Thomas, 8
Mynthurst, 32

Neolithic Age, 1, 20–21
Newark, 241
Newdegate, John, 77
Newdigate, 110, 206–207
Nicholson, Mr., 251
Nonsuch, 13, 44, 141
Norbridge, Henry, 58
Norbury Park, 50, 279, 284–285
Norbury, Sir Henry, 66
North, Bishop, 287
Northumberland, Duke of, 49, 61
Norwood, 3, 32
Noviomagus, 23
Nutfield, 33, 55, 77, 110

Oak trees, 32, 39, 41, 47, 50
Oakdene, 32
Oakwood, 32, 60, 208
Oatlands, 13–14, 44–45, 141
Ockham, 32, 52–53, 67, 111, 208
Ockley, 4, 6, 9, 32
Ockshott, 32
Odo, 7
Okedon, 32
Olaf, 6
Onslow family, 16, 49
Oswold, 7
Oxted, 32, 52, 78, 111

PAGHAM, 248
Palæolithic Age, 1, 19–20
Palestrina, Bishop of, 225
Pannage, 33–34, 39
Parker, Archbishop, 154, 159, 161–162
Parks, 12, 35, 46–47, 166
Partridges, 13, 41
Peasmarsh, 59
Peckham, 25
—— Archbishop, 231
Peers, C. R., 252
Pensions, Monastic, 237, 251
Peper Harow, 49, 50, 59
Perne, Dr., 149
Perrers, Alice, 134–135
Peter of Savoy, 150
Petersham, 47
Pheasants, 13, 38, 41
Pickhurst, 32
Pigot, Abbot, 245
Pile-villages, 1
Pilgrims' Way, 9
Pinford, 12, 14, 37, 83, 111, 209–211
Poaching, 38, 41, 46
Pococke, Bishop, 251
Pole, Cardinal, 152–154, 160, 161
Portsmouth Road, 4, 267–278
Post-Reformation Foundations, 253–266
Pullinghurst, 32
Purbright, 37
Purley, 24
Purveyance, 14
Putney, 47
Puttenham, 52, 59, 83, 111

QUEENSWOOD, 32

Red Lion, 268–269, 275
Regarders, 41
Reigate, 8, 9, 11, 14, 35, 112, 241, 254
Religious Houses of Surrey, 239–242, 254
Reynolds, Archbishop, 228
Rich, Sir Robert, 251
Richmond, 13, 46, 134–141
Rickhurst, 32
Roads, old, 15
Rochester Place, 149
Roehampton, 19
Roman bricks, 6
Roman period, 4, 22–26
Roman roads, 14
Romanus, Archbishop, 231
Rood of Bermondsey, the, 238
Rood Screens and Lofts, 82–128
Royal Huts, 275
Royal Residences of Surrey, 129–147
Runfold, 33
Rutherwyk, Abbot, 243
Rydinghurst, 32

SANCROFT, Archbishop, 163
Sander family, 76
Sanderstead, 50
Sandon, 241
Saunter through Surrey, 275
Savoy Chapel, 150
Schools, 258–260, 263–264
Scotch firs, 48–49
Scott, Sir Walter, 291
Segontiaci, 3
Selhurst, 30
Selwyn, John, 44–45, 70
Send, 35, 64, 82, 114
Shalford, 114
Sheen, 13, 46, 134–141
Sheldon, Archbishop, 158
Shere, 16, 52, 62, 115, 211
Shiers, Robert, 64
Shirley Common, 1, 20
Shoreham Harbour, 4¼
Shortfield, 33
Shurfold, 33
Skern, Robert, 71
Slyfield, 290
—— family, 64
Smallfield, 33
Smithfield Priory, 150
Smithwood, 32
Smugglers, 15
Southwark, 3, 6–7, 11, 83, 117, 223, 225
Springfield, 33
Staël, Madame de, 288–289
Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, 8
Staines, 4
Stangate Stairs, 148
Stenborough, 9
Stephenson, Mill, 55, 73
Stilwell, James, 272
Stoke d'Abernon, 3, 6, 15, 52–54, 64, 83, 118, 212–219, 241, 254
Stoke-by-Guildford, 35
Stone Street, 3, 9, 15, 149
Storm, the Great (1703), 48
Stoughton family, 16
Streatham, 34, 52, 81, 279–284
Streatham Waters, Analysis of, 281
Surrey, Historic, 1–17
—— *Pre-Norman*, 18–31
Suthrife, 5
Sutton, 14
Swetecock, John, 78
Sweyn, 6
Swine, 34–35, 39
Sydenhurst, 32

TAIT, Archbishop, 151, 159, 167
Tandridge, 13, 35, 50, 241
Tatsfield, 33, 83, 119
Tavenor-Perry, J., *Royal Residences of Surrey*, 129–147
Thames, 1–3, 7, 11, 12, 19, 37, 39, 149, 154, 161, 164, 227
Thames Ditton, 71, 82–83, 120
Thornton Heath, 30
Thorpe, 38, 71, 242
Thrale family, 279–283
Thunderfield, 33
—— Castle, 9
Thursley, 120, 267–278
Tilford, 49
Titsey, 2, 3, 24, 34, 122
Tonbridge, Richard of, 7
Tongham, 37
Tooting, 122
Tooting Bec, 281
Trashurst, 32
Tupper, Martin, 22, 25
Twysden, Sir Roger, 163

ULFAR, 242
Urban, Pope, 150
Uvedale, Elizabeth, 83

VALLANCE, Aymer, *Rood Screens and Lofts*, 82–128
Verderers, 38
Vincent family, 15
Visitations, Monastic, 245–246, 250

WADDON, 20–21
Wadysworth, William, 76
Wake, Archbishop, 158, 164
Walkhampsted, 35
Wall Paintings in Surrey Churches, 168–221
Wallington, 21, 22, 26, 29
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 14
Waltham, 243
Walton-on-the-Hill, 25, 122
Walton-on-Thames, 30, 44
Wanborough, 122
Wandle, 19–20, 26
—— Road, 23
Wandsworth, 19, 22, 53, 80, 82, 83, 122–124
Wanham, Archbishop, 161
Warenne Castle, 9
Warenne, Earls of, 3, 8
Warlingham, 83, 124, 219–221, 223
Wars of the Roses, 8
Wat Tyler, 6

Waverley Abbey, 49, 125, 246–252, 288
Waverley Annals, 10
Weald, the, 14, 15, 33, 35, 47
Wealden clay, 24
—— Forest, 3, 13
Wenlock, Prior of, 225
Wester, Gabriel, 72
Westerham, 21
Westfield, 33
Westminster Bridge, 164
Weston, 61
—— family, 15, 16, 61, 67
Wey, 1–3, 12, 37, 132, 252
Weybridge, 44, 56
White, Gilbert, 271
White Lodge, the, 141
Whiteway, 277
Whitgift, Archbishop, 159, 161, 162, 255
Wild cat, 13, 37
William the Conqueror, 6–7, 132, 242
William Rufus, 8, 37
Wimbledon, 1, 5, 14, 21, 126, 144
Winchester, Bishop of, 230
—— House, 149
Windlesham, 37, 83, 126
Windsor Forest, 12, 36–40
Winton, John de, 243–244
Wisley, 7, 221
Witley, 59, 126, 221
Wocingas, 5
Woking, 5, 12, 14, 35, 36, 37, 126
Woldingham, 126
Wolves, 13
Wolveshill, 13
Wonersh, 127
Woodbridge, 32
Woodcote, 23, 32
Woodham, 32
Woodhill, 32
Woodland Acreage, 51
Woodmasterne, 32, 83, 127
Woodruff, 32
Woodside, 32
Woodwards, 41
Worplesdon, 37, 127
Wotton, 7, 16, 48, 127
Wroughton, Abbot, 244
Wulfhere, 5
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 6
Wyddowsonn, William, 64

YELHURST, 32
Yerde, John, 75
Yew trees, 50

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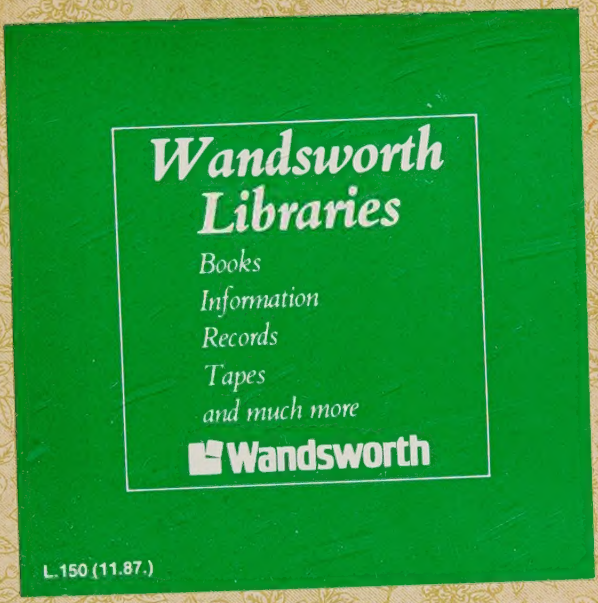
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